

BANTU STUDIES

A JOURNAL

devoted to the Scientific Study of

BANTU, HOTTENTOT & BUSHMAN

EDITED BY

J. D. RHEINALLT JONES

AND

C. M. DOKE

VOLUME XII

1938



**THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND PRESS
JOHANNESBURG**

Reprinted with the permission of the original publishers

KRAUS REPRINT LIMITED

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1968

VOLUME XII

CONTENTS

Khabar al Lamu—A Chronicle of Lamu. <i>William Hichens.</i>	..	1
Locative-class Nouns and Formatives in Sotho. <i>G. P. Lestrade</i>		35
Book Reviews	63, 145, 245,	343
Notes		73
The Marriage Laws of the Ronga Tribe. <i>André Clerc</i>	..	75
The Conception and Development of Poetry in Zulu. <i>B. W. Vilakazi</i>	..	105
The Earliest Records of Bantu. <i>C. M. Doke</i>	..	135
Ethnographical Texts in the Boloongwe Dialect of Sekgalagadi. <i>I. Schapera</i>	..	157
Praises of Animals in Northern Sotho. <i>S. K. Lekgothoane</i>	..	189
A Preliminary Check List of Zulu Names of Plants. <i>Jacob Gerstner</i>	..	215, 321
The Study of Native Law in South Africa. <i>H. J. Simons</i>	..	237
The Use of the Ideophone		243
Yao and Nyanja Tales. <i>Duff Macdonald</i>	..	251
Political Organisation of the Southern Sotho. <i>E. H. Ashton</i>	..	287

VOLUME XII

INDEX TO CONTENTS

Arabic Sources of Bantu	136
<i>Ashton, E. H.</i> Political Organisation of the Southern Sotho ..	287
Bantu, Earliest Records of	135
Basutoland Council	315
Boloongwe Ethnographical Texts	157
Botanical Terms, Zulu	215, 321
<i>Burbridge, A.</i> The Use of the Ideophone	243
Bushmen and Kgalagadi	169
Chieftainship, Southern Sotho	298
Chronicle of Lamu	1
<i>Clerc André.</i> Marriage Laws of the Ronga Tribe	75
Conception and Development of Poetry in Zulu	105
Dirêôtô (Praises) in Northern Sotho	189
Divorce, Ronga	89
<i>Doke, C. M.</i> The Earliest Records of Bantu	135
Earliest Records of Bantu	135
English Sources of Bantu	143
Ethnographical Texts in the Boloongwe Dialect of Sekgalagadi	157
<i>Gerstner, J.</i> A Preliminary Check List of Zulu Names of Plants	215, 321
<i>Hichens, W.</i> Khabar al Lamu	1
Ideophone, Use of	243

Iziŋongo (Praises) in Zulu	117
Kgalagadi, Boloongwe dialect texts	162
——— death customs	180
——— life of	173
——— marriage customs	176
Khabar al Lamu	1
Kwena, texts	162
Lamu, Chronicle of	1
Law, Native, in South Africa	237
Laws, Marriage, of Ronga Tribe	75
<i>Lekgothoane, S. K.</i> Praises of Animals in Northern Sotho ..	189
<i>Lestrade, G. P.</i> Locative-class Nouns and Formatives in Sotho	35
Lobolo, Ronga	84, 98
Locative-class Nouns and Formatives in Sotho	35
Lullabies, Zulu	120
<i>Macdonald, Duff.</i> Yao and Nyanja Tales	251
Marriage Laws of the Ronga Tribe	75
Native Law in South Africa	237
Nyanja Texts	276
Pigafetta's Bantu records	142
Plant names in Zulu	215, 321
Poetry in Zulu, Conception and Development of	105
Political Organisation of the Southern Sotho	287
Portuguese Sources of Bantu	137
Praises of Animals in Northern Sotho	189
Preliminary Check List of Zulu Names of Plants	215, 321

Rhythm in Zulu poetry	111
Ronga, Marriage laws	75
<i>Schapera, I. Ethnographical Texts in the Boloongwe Dialect of</i>	
Sekgalagadi	157
<i>Simons, H. J. The Study of Native Law in South Africa ..</i>	237
Songs, Zulu	119
Sotho, Locative-class Nouns and Formatives	35
—— Northern, Praises of Animals	189
—— Southern, Political Organisation	287
Spelling of Names of Bantu Languages and Tribes in English	73
Study of Native Law in South Africa	237
Swahili, text of Khabar al Lamu	8
Totemism, Kgalagadi	165
Tswana, see "Sotho"	35
Use of the Ideophone	243
<i>Vilakazi, B. W. The Conception and Development of Poetry</i>	
in Zulu	105
Yao and Nyanja Tales	251
Yao texts	254
Zulu, Plant Names	215, 321
—— Poetry	105

BOOK REVIEWS

Agar-O' Connell, R. M. <i>Iintsomi, Bantu Folk Stories</i> (C.M.D.)	348
Beach, D. M. <i>The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language</i> (P. de V. Pienaar)	148
Berger, P. <i>Die mit B. —île gebildeten Perfektstämme in den Bantu-sprachen</i> (G.P.L.)	343
Bruens, A. <i>A Grammar of Lundu</i>	73
Burssens, A. (see Peeraer, S.)	
<i>Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari</i> (Papers from "Bantu Studies" (I. Schapera)	68
Callaway, G. <i>Pioneers in Pondoland</i> (C.M.D.)	345
<i>Centres Chrétiens D'Afrique: I. Cameroun</i> (A.I.R.)	147
Desmore, A. J. B. <i>Torchbearers in Darkest America</i> (E.B.J.) ..	153
Dhlomo, R. R. R. <i>uMpande</i> (C.M.D.)	71
Dumbrell, H. J. E. <i>More Letters to African Teachers</i> (S.D.B. Ngcobo)	152
Field, M. J. <i>Religion and Medicine of the Gã People</i> (C.M.D.) ..	63
Hambly, W. D. <i>Source Book of African Anthropology</i> (A.I.R.) ..	348
<i>Joni Murimi, Rugwaro rweZokurima</i> (C.M.D.)	348
Kenyatta, J. <i>Facing Mount Kenya</i> (C.M.D.)	245
<i>La Sorcellerie dans les pays de mission</i> (A. I. Richards)	145
Luthango, N. S. <i>uMohlomi</i> (C.M.D.)	72
Masondo, T. Z. (see Molefe, A. T.)	
<i>Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa</i> (Int. Inst. of Afr. Langs. and Cultures) (J. D. Krige)	246

Molefe, A. T. and Masondo, T. Z. <i>Ezomdabu wezizwe zabansundu</i> (C.M.D.)	72
Peeraer, S. <i>Gouwzang der Bene-Lupulu</i> (G.P.L.)	344
———— and Burssens, A. <i>Nominale Klassen en Prefixen in het Kiluba</i> (G.P.L.)	344
Plaatje, S. T. <i>Dintšhontšho tsa Bo-Juliuse Kesara</i> (W. Eiselen) ..	153
Porteus, S. D. <i>Primitive Intelligence and Environment</i> (C.M.D.) ..	64
Read, M. <i>Native Standards of Living and African Culture Change</i> (A.I.R.)	346
Schapera, I. <i>A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom</i> (H. J. Simons)	237
Shepherd, R. H. W. <i>Children of the Veld, Bantu Vignettes</i> (C.M.D.)	65
Stuart, J. <i>uThulasizwe</i> (C.M.D.)	71
Stuart, P. A. <i>uNkosi bomvu</i> (C.M.D.)	72
van Eeden, B. I. C. <i>Ke Etela Lesotho</i> (G.P.L.)	145
Watkins, M. H. <i>A Grammar of Chichewa</i> (C.M.D.)	147
Winter, A. <i>English Composition for Bantu Students</i> (E.J.) ..	346
Ziervogel, C. <i>Brown South Africa</i> (L.F.)	66

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10
11	11
12	12
13	13
14	14
15	15
16	16
17	17
18	18
19	19
20	20
21	21
22	22
23	23
24	24
25	25
26	26
27	27
28	28
29	29
30	30
31	31
32	32
33	33
34	34
35	35
36	36
37	37
38	38
39	39
40	40
41	41
42	42
43	43
44	44
45	45
46	46
47	47
48	48
49	49
50	50
51	51
52	52
53	53
54	54
55	55
56	56
57	57
58	58
59	59
60	60
61	61
62	62
63	63
64	64
65	65
66	66
67	67
68	68
69	69
70	70
71	71
72	72
73	73
74	74
75	75
76	76
77	77
78	78
79	79
80	80
81	81
82	82
83	83
84	84
85	85
86	86
87	87
88	88
89	89
90	90
91	91
92	92
93	93
94	94
95	95
96	96
97	97
98	98
99	99
100	100

KHABAR AL-LAMU

A CHRONICLE OF LAMU

By

SHAIBU FARAJI BIN HAMED AL-BAKARIY AL-LAMUY

Transliterated and translated from the Swahili script
and annotated by

WILLIAM HICHENS

FOREWORD

Lamu, formerly known as Kiwa Ndeo, "the Proud Isle," is the most renowned of the islands in the East African archipelago which bears its name, for it has played an important part in the history of the East African coast.

With Pate and Manda, its sister islands and erstwhile sultanates (whose political and commercial fortunes have been always closely interwoven with its own), Lamu was one of the ancient entrepôts of the gold, ivory, spice and slave trades of which record is made by the early Greek and Arabian geographers, and which as long as twenty centuries ago brought merchant venturers to the Azanian littoral, there to establish ports which grew to cities governing principalities whose commerce and culture, waxing to their crest in the golden age of the 15th-16th centuries, have now waned to their lowest ebb beneath the impact of Western dominance.

It is not to our purpose here to relate how Lamu became the rich, mansioned city that it was, a mart of commerce, and the home of literature, law and theology upon the Zangian coast. Nor does the Swahili chronicle which is here translated attempt that narration. Although the manuscript is entitled "*Khabar l-Lamu*" (An Account of Lamu) it makes no claim to be a comprehensive history either of Lamu town or of the sultanate's terrain. As the subscription to the manuscript records, it is a copy, made to the order of Abdallah bin Hamed, Wali of Lamu, c. 1897, from older chronicles. Like many chronicles of early history (and the defect is by no means peculiar to Swahili record), it deals with salient episodes to the omission of much of the incidental event leading to them; yet it includes anecdotes of a kind which, catching the popular fancy, are often better remembered than the graver issues of the civil destiny. The chronicler presupposes of his readers such knowledge of the contemporary background as will serve to orient the facts which he presents; and, with an insularity of purview typical of national histories, his chronicle embraces Lamu not as a sultanate, but as *the* sultanate. Her neighbouring states find but scant mention except in so far as they intrude, as enemies or allies, upon her boundaries.

To gain an accurate perspective of the periods with which our chronicler deals it is thus necessary for us to connote other sources. For example, after having related the founding of Lamu by Arabs who came

to the Coast in the 7th century, our chronicler takes a thousand years in his stride and, but for a passing anecdote, continues his story in the 1700's. Some of the links between the periods are supplied in the footnotes to the text; for others the reader is referred to the appended bibliography. To the Swahili the apparent gaps in the narrative are of small account. They are readily filled from the archives of Swahili tradition, both oral and written, from the histories of Pate and Lamu's other sister-sultanates, and from the vast body of record known as *mashairi*—compositions in metrical rhetoric—which preserve in great detail a wealth of minor event set in its contemporary historical and social background and vividly imbued with the public sentiment incident upon it. Some of these *mashairi*, as those declaimed at Zahidi bin Mgumi's war-council, are included in this chronicle; a great many more, dealing with the life and affairs of Lamu and its people, their laws, political economy, customs and social usages, are extant in manuscript, but they are of too great volume for connotation here. The footnotes to the text have thus been limited to a substantiation of the more relevant dates and to some points that may help to give colour to the narrative.

The translation is as literal as syntactical differences between the two languages permit. The manuscript from which it is made was obtained in Lamu some few years ago by Sir A. C. Hollis to whom my thanks are due for placing it at my disposal. It is written in the adapted form of Arabic script used by Swahili scribes and, as the student of the language will observe, in the Kiamu dialect; and it preserves some forms of speech which have since become obsolete.

Except for some chronological discrepancies which are common to all early historical chronicle, there seems to be no good ground for doubting (as some have seen fit to do) the substantial veracity of Swahili record. In the present instance it would not have been difficult, but for limits of space, to have amplified this chronicle of Lamu very generously from independent and corroborative sources.

But, to do so would lead us far beyond the confines of Lamu sultanate to an historical exploration of the Azanian coast, south to Mombasa, to Zanzibar and Kilwa and Sofala; north to Barawa and the Persian Gulf, inland to the campments of the Gala and the forest huts of the Boni, to the ancient cities of Ozi, along the war-trails of the Wasegeju, by dhow to Mogadisho, by sewn-boat to Shagga.

It was no part of the task of Shaibu Faraji, our present chronicler, to unite in his *Khabar l-Lamu* these many chronicles of the other sultanates and peoples of the Coast; nor can that be attempted here by way of

annotation without embarking on a history, now long overdue, of the entire Azanian littoral.

Attention may be drawn, however, to various points in this chronicle not hitherto recorded, such as the note upon the industry of copper-smithing during the time of Abd-l-Malik, and that the well known tribe, the Wajomvu, are of common origin with the "Wayunbu", the founders of Lamu. A history of the Wajomvu, by a descendant of one of its ancient chiefs, gives us the clue to the origin of these early Lamuans (see footnote 5). It affords, too, a very typical instance of the complementary and corroborative detail of Swahili records of the same type as this present chronicle.

Among other references, those regarding the introduction of coconut-palm seedlings, the sword-making industry at Lamu, the participation of slaves in civic affairs, the "métayer" system of crop cultivation and the system of government by town-council, are worthy of note.

WILLIAM HICHENS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Short list of works mentioned in footnotes to the text. Those marked * contain bibliographies affording other sources of Azanian history).

- Baladhuri, al, (Balazory, Ahmad b. Yahya) *Futuh al-Baladin*, Leiden, 1863-66 and New York 1916-24.
- Burton, R. F. *Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*. London, 1872.
- Colonial Reports, Annual, Kenya.
- Dale, G. *Peoples of Zanzibar*. London, 1920.
- Edrisi (Muhd. ibn Muhd. al-Edrisi) *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq*, texte et traduction par Jaubert, A. Paris, 1836.
- Hardinge, A. *Report on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate*. *Africa*, No. 7, 1897 (C. —8683). London, 1897.
- * Ingrams, W. H. *Zanzibar*. London, 1931.
- Lane, E. W. *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. London, edn, var.
- Mashhur (Abdurrahman b. Muhd. b. Hussein al-Mashhur) *Shamsu Dhahira al-Dhahiya*. Deccan, A. H. 1329.
- Masoudi (Ali ibn Hussein al-Masoudi) *Les Prairies d'Or*. texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1861-1877.
- * Pearce, F. B. *Zanzibar*. London, 1920.
- Schoff, W. *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. London, 1917.
- Stigand, C. *Land of Zinj*. London, 1913.
- Stigand, C. *Dialect in Swahili*. Cambridge, 1915.
- Werner, A. *A Swahili History of Pate* (in Jl. R.Af. Soc.) London, 1915.
- Werner, A. and Hichens, W. *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona* (Vol. 2. The Azanian Classics) Medstead, Hants., 1932.
-

KHABARI LAMU

*Awali ya watu wa Lamu ni Waarabu walitoku Demeski as-Sham. Alowaeta ni Abdu-l-Malik bin Marwan.*¹ *Ndiye alowaeta Sawahili alipo kuya kutaka makamkimu an-nahasi.*²

Baada ya hao waloetwa wakaya na Waarabu wengine walipopata khabari ya kwamba jamaa zao wako Sawahili.

*Na hao Waarabu walokuya mukuu wao ina lake Haji Sa'id.*³

*Basi hapo Waarabu wakaya hata wakawa wangi wakawa na nguvu nao ukaya Lamu wakafanya mui mahala hamukuliwa Hedabu.*⁴ *Nao hawalina khabari ya kwamba Weyuni pana mui na hao watu wa Weyuni walina nguvu sana. Walikipatikana watu washikao silaha ethn'ashra alfu ni ghair 12,000.*

*Hapo Waarabu walipoyua ya kuwa pana mui karibu yao wakataka watu wa Weyuni wawe tini yao. Na watu wa Weyuni walikidai ni Waarabu watoka Yunbu' ni hawa watu wamukuliwao Wayunbili.*⁵

¹ Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwan, 5th Khalif of the Ommaiyades, reigned A.H. 65-86 (A.D. 685-706). According to Swahili records he sent to the Swahili coast "Syrians who built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa and founded many other towns along the coast." Cp. Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 29.

Makamkimu an-nahasi, copper scent-flasks: from the Persian *qamaqam*, pl. of *qumqum*. This reference to copperware as an article of trade is noteworthy. Sheet-copper, "used for cooking utensils and cut up for bracelets and anklets" is among the imports to the eastern African coast mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; and the Arabian geographer, Edrisi (A.D. 1099-1170 states in his *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq* (Jaubert, A. Paris, 1936) "In all the country of Sofala they find gold in abundance. . . nevertheless the inhabitants prefer copper and make ornaments of it." The craft of the coppersmith was thus very early established on the East African coast. Trays and pots are still commonly of tinned copper. For uses of the *makamkimu*, cp. Lane, "Modern Egyptians," who says "in the houses of the rich it used to be a common custom to sprinkle the guest, before he rose to take his leave, with rose-water or orange-flower water . . . the scent-bottle, which is called *kum-kum* is of plain or gilt silver, or fine brass or china or glass." Some marriage-festival songs dating from circa 1700 A.D. and probably earlier, sung at Lamu, also mention articles made of copper, e.g. (MS. MK. 87) *Siwa vumiza muhasi*—blow loud the "brazen" horn! and it may be noted that Liongo Fumo, the Swahili traditional hero, was killed with a copper matting-needle, (c. 1200 A.D.).

² Ahmad b. Yahya al-Baladzory in his *Futuh al-Baladin*, states that two brothers, Suliman and Said bin Abbad fled to the land of the Zinj (from Oman when it was subdued to Damascus), c. A.D. 684-695. Haji Said may be "Haji" Sa'id bin Abbad of that account.

⁴ To-day, a group of sandhills between Lamu and Shela marks the site of old Hedabu. Weyuni is said to have been at the east end of the present Lamu town.

A CHRONICLE OF LAMU

The first of the people of Lamu were Arabs who came from Damascus in Syria. He who sent them was Abdul-Malik bin Marwan.¹ It was he who sent them to the Swahili coast at a time when he wanted copper scent-flasks.²

After those who were so sent there came other Arabs, when they got news that their kinsmen were on the Swahili coast.

And of those Arabs who came, the name of their Chief was Haji Sa'id.³

Then at that time Arabs continued to come until they were many and they gained power; and they, at the site of Lamu town they made a town at a place called Hedabu.⁴ And they had no information that at Weyuni there was a town and that those people of Weyuni were very strong. They amounted to upwards of 12,000 men bearing weapons of war.

When the Arabs got to know that there was a town near to them they wanted the people of Weyuni to be subject to them.

The people of Weyuni so designed upon were Arabs coming from Yunbu'; it is these people who are called the Wayunbili.⁵

⁵ Yunbu' is identifiable with the modern port of Janbo-al-Bahar (lat. 24, long. 38) on the coast of the Red Sea, about fifty kilometres S.E. of Ras Baridi, 310 kils., N.N.W. of Jeddah, and in the e-Djof province of the Hejaz. It is also cognate with the word *jomvu* in the name of the tribe Wa-Jomvu who were among the early settlers of Mombasa, and who trace their origin to "the land of Jeddah" and are probably emigrants from the same port. "*Wa-jomvu mwanzo wao watoka nti ya Jeddah, nao walifika Junda karibu na Kisauni, na walipotoka Junda walikwende Mfita*" (=Mvita=Mombasa). Mwindani bin Mwindadi in "*Habari za Wajomvu*" (unpublished MS.) The transposition of *yunbu'* to *jomvu* is accountable for by dialectical absorption into Kimvita, the Swahili dialect of Mombasa (*y=j*; *-nb- =mb=mv*).

Two of the elders of the early Wajomvu were named Hamisi bin Mwinyi Haji and Mwindadi bin Mwinyi and it is not improbable that they were of the kin of the Haji Said, chief of the Yunbu' of Lamu. These parties of early immigrants sailed from port to port and harbourage down the Coast seeking suitable settlements. Subsequently, as the present chronicle mentions, their kinsmen followed; but the later arrivals had to venture farther along the littoral to establish themselves. Thus the Shehe Mvita as-Shiraz, of Mombasa, is recorded to have tried to make settlement at Malindi, Gede, Shaka, Mwatamu, Mwatapo and Kilifi, but to have been repulsed by earlier settlers.* The Mombasan Wajomvu or "Wa-Yunbu'" probably came on to Mombasa, as emigrants following their earlier kinsmen at Lamu, in much the same way.

* *Khabari ya Ngozi*; by Juma bin Raschid. Unpublished MS.)

Basi hapo hawakukubali wakapijana siku nyingi. Hata kula mmoya katoka wakataka kufanya amani. Kula mmoya wakaandika barua,⁶ watu wa Weyuni ya kutaka amani wakaupuka Hedabu; na watu wa Hedabu wakaandika barua kutaka amani kupeka Weyuni. Siku hiyo mmoya alotukuwa waraka wa Weyuni na hoyo alotukua waraka wa Hedabu wakadirikana ndiyani wakatakana khabari. Ule muntu wa Weyuni kanena, "Nimepowa waraka kupeka Hedabu kutaka amani." Yule tarishi wa Hedabu kamwambia, "Mimi nimepowa waraka wa kutaka zita kisho!" Kamuhadaa kwa akili; wakarudi wote kuya Hedabu, kawapa khabari jamaa zake khabari ya yule amezoelea yote. Wakarudisha jawabu ya kuwa, "Twataka zita kisho."

Walipopekwa waraka Weyuni wa zita wasiweze tena. Watu wa Weyuni wakataka amani. Basi wakakubali wakanena, "Siku ya kuya kwenu kufanya amani muntu asitukue silaha."

Kuna mzee wa Weyuni kawambia, "Siwateni silaha, kwani siku ya amani ndiyo siku ya zita." Wakamuona yule mzee mebisa wasitukue silaha. Hawa watu wa Hedabu wakatukua ma jambia; walipowaona harwana silaha wakawapija watu wa Weyuni wakawangamiza sana wasiwe watu tena wakawashinda. Wakawaandika kula yambo watakao, wasiwake madari wasifanye ziatu (or, zita⁷) na kuwaosha wa maiti.⁸

Hini ndiyo jinsi ya khabari ya Lamu. Na kabila za watu wa Lamu aliyokuya kwanda ni Haji Sa'id. Baada yake wakaya Waarabu watoka kwa l-Hindi watukuzie mite ya minazi.⁹

⁶ It is to be noted that each side "wrote a letter" and if that may be taken factually it would appear that writing was known on the Swahili coast at an early date. The Hadithi ya Liongo speaks of a letter sent to him; c. 1200 A.D.

⁷ The MS., reads *ziatu*, footgear; but this may be an error of the scribe's for *zita*, war.

⁸ The Arabs of Hedabu were, as subjects of Kalif Abdū-l-Malik, Moslems who would observe the Islamic rituals for the ablution of the dead, for which see Lane, E.W. op. cit., & Encyclopedia of Islam, s.v. Why the "Arabs" of Weyuni should have been ordered by Hedabu to follow such a custom is not clear unless they were not "Arabs" but Persians still adhering to Zoroastrian rites, upon which, as now practised in East Africa by the Parsees, see Dale, G. *Peoples of Zanzibar*, pp. 86, seq.

Thus they did not agree and they fought together for many days, until everyone was weary and they wished to make peace.

Each side wrote a letter;⁶ the people of Weyuni sent one desiring peace to Hedabu; and the people of Hedabu wrote a letter asking for peace to send to Weyuni. That same day he who carried the letter of Weyuni and he who took the letter of Hedabu, met together upon the road and asked news of each other. The man from Weyuni said, "I have been given a letter to take to Hedabu to ask for peace." The messenger from Hedabu said to him, "As for me, I have been given a letter demanding war to the finish!" So he deceived him by wits; and both of them returned to Hedabu, and he gave news to his kinsmen, the news of that man who had revealed all his affair.

Then they sent back an answer, being, "We want war to the end." When they were brought this letter the Weyuni warriors were not able to do more. The men of Weyuni wanted peace. So they agreed and said, "On the day of your coming to our place to make peace, let no man carry arms."

There was an old man of Weyuni, and he told them, "Do not discard your weapons, because the day of peace, indeed, is the day of war." And they looked on that old man as having jested, and so they did not carry weapons. But those men of Hedabu carried daggers; and when they saw that they had no weapons, they smote the people of Weyuni and utterly routed them until there were no men left; and so they defeated them. Then they set in order every matter which they desired, that they should not build defences, nor make footgear (? or "war")⁷ and that they should wash the bodies of the dead.⁸

Thus, indeed, is the manner of the story of Lamu. The clan of the first people who came to Lamu is that of Haji Sa'id. And after him came Arabs coming by way of India and bringing with them seedlings of the coconut-palms.⁹

⁹ This is the earliest record of the introduction of the coconut-palm to the Kenya coast. It has, however, been conjectured that references in the *Periplus*, *supra*, to *nargilos* are evidence of the introduction of the coconut-palm to East Africa by Hindu merchant-seafarers circa the 1st to 7th centuries B.C., *nargil* being Prakrit for "coconut;" it is to be noted that *Periplus* records the export of "palm-oil" from the coast.

*Wakakumangana wakafanya shauri ili wafanye mukuu.*¹⁰

*Wakanena Waurabu kumwambia Haji Sa'id, "Mukuu ni weve kwani ndiwe umezotangulia kuya hapa." Kajibu, "Ni kweli lakini mimi nikuwakirimu wageni na wageni ni nyinyi mumezokuya nyuma ni nyinyi. Twaani kula mwaka awe mukuu hoyo na mwaka wa pili awe hoyo kaduri na mimi niwe muntu wa kukata maneno na shauri baina ya kula muntu pasiwe shauri lo lote illa kukata mimi." Wakasutuhiana kwa haya. Haji Sa'id kawa mngwana wa Yumbe.*¹¹ *Na maana ya mungwana wa Yumbe ni nyumba ya ufalume na kula mungine yo yote mwenyerwe ni yeye.*

*Na wale waloangukia Famau wakawa Wafamau,*¹² *na wale walo kuya na mite ya minazi wakamkuliwa Kina Mti na walokuweko Weyuni wakamukuliwa Wayubili (? Wayunbili). Hizi ndizo kabila zilioko Lamu. Hata sasa baada ya hapo wale Waarabu wasimujali mtu.*¹³

Basi kuna na mufalume Pate alikikuamkuliwa Bwana T'amu.

¹⁰ The *Periplus* states that the "people of Muza" (Mocha, Arabia) held the ports of this coast under the authority of the "Mapharitic chief" who, in turn, governed it "under an ancient right." The form of government here described as instituted by Haji Sa'id, does not indicate that he owed allegiance to any overlord. It would rather appear that from the earliest times of Swahili records the towns of the littoral maintained commercial relations, but entirely severed political relations with the suzerains of their immigrant founders.

¹¹ The *yumbe* or "governor's house" is of frequent mention in Swahili history, poetry and song; but except where otherwise indicated by the context, *Yumbe* means the *yumbe* of Pate, the ruined walls of which still stand (1937), and not, as in this history, the *yumbe* of Lamu. Wedding and other songs often open with an injunction to the minstrels to beat their drums, and *mbiu*-horns, and blow their *siwa* and other trumpets loudly enough to be heard at the *Yumbe*, e.g. in the famous love-song to the Arab maiden:

Pijiyani mptwasi pembe ya jamusi . . . upije na pembe iliyao Yumbe—Beat ye out to the distant towns with the horn of the water-buffalo, and the horn that crieth to the Sultan's palace.

They then mingled together and took council to appoint a chief man.¹⁰ The Arabs spake and said to Haji Sa'id, "You are the chief man because it was you who wast the one to come here in advance." And he replied, "That is true, but I have since invited strangers and the newcomers are ye who have followed later. Do ye take from amongst you every year a certain man to be chief man, and the second year a certain man to be so, by selection. And as for me, let me be the man to decide discussions and affairs as between all the people, without there being any matter whatsoever except that I decide it." And they honoured those arrangements. Haji Sa'id became the *Mngwana wa Yumbe*.¹¹ The meaning of the *Mngwana wa Yumbe* is that it (*yumbe*) is the house of the governorship and for every other person whomsoever he (the *Mngwana*) is the person holding power.

And they who came down from Famau became the *Wafamau*;¹² and they who came with the seedlings of coconut-palms were called the *Kina Mti* (Kinsmen of the Trees) and they who were at Weyuni were called the Wayubili (? Wayunbili).

These in fact are the tribes which were then at Lamu.

Down to the present from that time, those Arabs have not been subject to any man.¹³

¹² The Famau have played a prominent part in the history of the Coast and, in the line of Mataka (Is-haq) bin Mbarak they were, under Muhammad Is-haq bin Mbarak bin Muhammad bin 'Umar I-Famau, the ruling family at Siu when Sultan Seyyid Sa'id subdued the coastal sultanates, c. 1843-56. Several members of the family, men and women, were accomplished poets and the wife of Muh. Is-haq bin Mbarak (better known as Bwana Mataka, is of renown from her poem *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona* (Azanian Classics: Vol. 2, Werner & Hichens, *Mwana Kupona*, 1932). Their origin is at present obscure, but they were most probably in the line of Is-haq, king of Pate, whose daughter married the first of the Nabahan sultans of Pate c. 1202, A.D. (cp. History of Pate by Muhammad bin Famau).

¹³ The scribe here writes a bracket in his manuscript and then continues his narrative as in the reign of Bwana Tamu (the Younger = Abubakar b. Bwana Mkuu b. Abubakar, the son of the Bw. Mkuu who was transported to Goa by the Portuguese, and of Mwana Darini, at whose instance the craftsman Bayeye made the *siwa*-horn: see footnote 31) Bwana Tamu reigned c. 1711 (acc. to another history, MSS., c. 1699).

For the intervening period one must turn to the Sw. histories of Pate, and to other chronicles of the coast.

*Wakapijana na watu wa Amu.*¹⁴ *Watu wa Lamu wakauziwa mto wa Mkanda*¹⁵ *kusipite tombo. Mufalume wa Pate akaunda mutepe*¹⁶ *Magogoni ukafutwa hata Kikoni wakavushwa askari wakaya Lamu wakapijana wakafundika watu wa Pate hata wanawake wakiwauwa kwa mite ya kusulia. Na wakati hono Lamu ikawa na nguvu sana.*¹⁷

*Kwalina na mufalume Manda naye alina nguvu sana. Mwisio mtana watu wa Pate kawalikisurwa kwa sababu mufalume wa Manda ulele wakisurwa tamwamusha.*¹⁸

Naye mufalume wa Manda una Kijana akikanya jauri sana na udhia kifanyiza watu katika muiyi wao Manda hata watu wa muiyi wakamwambia, "Mngu nakupeke Lamu!" Ule kijana kavuka kaya Lamu mugeni haisi mahala pa kushukia kashukia kiwandani kwa wajume. Akaya mtu wa Kiamu akasukuwa upanga wakwe kazengea kitu ta kufutia mayi; akamuo-na ule kijana ta mufalume uvie nguo zakwe kafutia maji upanga lakwe kwa nguo ya kijana.

*Ule kijana kanyamaa kimya karudi, wakati hono, kenda kwao Manda asifanye tena jauri kabisa. Na wakati hono watu wa Lamu walipo kumeona muntu yo yote mwenye jauri walikimupija.*¹⁹

¹⁴ According to Bwana Kitini (Stigand, op. cit., p. 58), it was the Lamu army that suffered defeat on this occasion. But six months earlier Pate had made an abortive attack, in dhows, by way of Shela, and suffered defeat.

¹⁵ The Mkanda is the sea-channel between Lamu Island and the mainland.

¹⁶ *Mutepe* (pl. *mitepe*) the "sewn" boats referred to in the *Periplus* and still in use at Lamu.

¹⁷ Here the script runs into another bracketted portion, an interpolation taking us back to c. A.D. 1340 when Manda, the small island opposite Lamu, was a place of some importance.

It was an older settlement than either Lamu or Pate and was evidently one of the ports for the Sofalan gold trade.

The people of Manda were known as the *wavaa ngandu*, or "wearers of

Now, there was then a king of Pate and he was called Bwana Tamu. And they (his people) fought *with* the men of Lamu.¹⁴

The men of Lamu barred the channel of Mkanda¹⁵ so that vessels could not pass there. The king of Pate built an *mtepe*¹⁶ and it was dragged from Magogoni to Kikoni and then soldiers were shipped across and they came to Lamu and they fought; and the people of Pate were overcome, even the women slaying them with the pestles used for pounding grain. At this time Lamu became very powerful.¹⁷

There was a king at Manda and he had considerable power. At the end of the day the folk of Pate were not able to pound grain because the king of Pate was sleeping and if they pounded grain they would awaken him.¹⁸

And this king of Manda had a young kinsman who was very unruly and caused much annoyance to the folk of their town of Manda; until the people of the town said to him, "Would to God you betake you to Lamu!" And that young man sailed over and came to Lamu but, as a stranger, he lacked knowledge of the place to beach and so put ashore at the yard of the sword-makers. There came a man of the Lamu folk shaking his sword and seeking something wherewith to wipe the water from it, and, seeing the royal youth, he pulled up his clothes and wiped the water from his sword with the young man's robes.

That young man was speechless and went his way back and from that time when he went to his home at Manda he never again made trouble whatsoever. From that time whenever the people of Lamu saw any man anywhere who was arrogant they always punished him.¹⁹

gold" from the quantity of gold ornaments which they wore. The ruler of Manda is accounted to have been "very powerful" when Suliman bin Suliman, founder of the Patean Nabahan dynasty, arrived on the coast c. 1204 A.D. but Manda was subdued by the Nabahan, Muhammad II, c. 1330 A.D. the town being taken through the treachery of a citizen Ba-Kiumbe. Another account holds that Manda fell later, c. 1390, to 'Umar I. who succeeded Muhammad II.

¹⁸ Stigand, *op. cit.* p. 38, recounts this order from Manda as in the early 14th century and gives a variant version of it.

¹⁹ Arrogance and false pride supply the theme of much satirical verse exchanged between Lamu, Pate and Mombasa. The old name for Lamu, Kiwa Ndeo, is said to mean the Proud Isle; and Pate Yunga, the old name of Pate, to mean Pate-the-swaggering; (but, although colloquially accepted these renderings are open to etymological objections).

Na barani kwalina mui hamukuliwa Mudiwo²⁰ wakenda watu wa Lamu wakawapija wakawafunda. Hata hini siwa ya shaba²¹ iliyoko yatoka Mudiwo.

Kwa naidira wakapija na Kitawo wakaivunda.²²

Walikenda na Muvita wakakoma Kilifi²³ wasiweze kuivuka Vuma kwa kusi na mivua wakarudi. Basi hapo watu wa Mvita walipo pata khahari ya kuwa watu wa Lamu wamekoma Kilifi wamerudi wakatunga mashairi. Na hapo Vuma kwalina wavuzi wawili watumwa wa Muvita walitamkuliwao mmoya Kirobo na wa pili kiitwa Manyema.²⁶ Na mashairi yao ni haya :²⁴

*Mwaliyokoma Kilifi musiwewe vuka Vuma
Kwa kuta wavua tafi²⁵ Kiroboo na Manyema²⁶
Mukishindiye ulafi kwandamana nyuma nyuma
Kuziwilia heshima ni pepe mutiziyeni.*

*Hoko sikusitarehe makondo na mibuzi²⁷
Na kuteka idi idi ziteko za udakuzi
Kuwaoneya malahisi mukiwakenda pumuzi²⁸
Mangine hamuyawezi kwamba mwaweza ndooni.*

²⁰ *Mudiwo* = Idio (?) marked upon some maps as to the west of Mkonumbi.

²¹ The *siwa*, elephant-tusk shaped trumpets of ivory, carved from a tusk (or more than one) and of brass and wood are royal symbols throughout the East African settlements on the coast, and were (and are) of ceremonious use at public events, e.g. for assemblages at proclamations, councils of war, marriage festivities. Festive and other songs commonly refer to the *siwa*, e.g. *Siwa vumizani mbele ya pembe na ya nuhasi*—"Blow ye loudly afar the ivory, and brass *siwa*-trumpets." The *siwa* has been referred as "peculiar to the cities ruled by the descendants of the Persians of Shiraz who settled on this coast" (Sir John Kirk), but similar ivory and wooden trumpets are in widespread use among Bantu peoples. Cp. Chauvet, S. *Musique Negre*, Paris, 1929.

²² *Kitao* stands on the south-west point of Manda island, opposite Shela. It is said to have been one of the towns immigrant founded in the time of Abdul Malik and to have been subdued to the Nabahan 'Umar I and that, in apprehension of conquest the woman ruler, Mwana Inali threw herself into the sea from the heights of Kitao headland when she heard that the elders of Kitao had gone to 'Umar at Pate to sue for peace. Another version refutes her suicide and prefers that she went to live at Pate.

²³ Kilifi, a port of erstwhile political, now of industrial importance (for sisal) stands on the southerly shore of the Vuma (now mapped as the Voi) River; about 30 miles by road N.N.E. of Mombasa and about 130 miles overland S.S.W. of Lamu. It is the port for Takaungu.

Then, on the mainland there was a town called Mudiwo²⁰ and the men of Lamu went and fought with the folk of Mudiwo and defeated them. Thus, the brass *siwa*-trumpet²¹ which is now there (at Lamu, in the District Commissioner's care) came from Mudiwo. And it came about that they fought with Kitao²² and subdued it.

They went on towards Mombasa but came to a halt at Kilifi²³ being unable to ford the Vuma because of the rains of the south-west monsoon ; and they turned back. Then, when the people of Mombasa got news of the men of Lamu stopping at Kilifi and returning, they composed some songs.

And there at Vuma were two fishermen, slaves from Mombasa, and they were called, the one Kiroboo and the second Manyema.²⁶

And their songs were these : ²⁴

Ye who came to a halt at Kilifi, when ye could not ford the Vuma
Because you met Kiroboo and Manyema²⁶ catching spine-foot fish,²⁵
How was it that ye, stopping to gorge your gluttony, go wandering
back !

Hindering your renown like that you put yourselves to grievous
hunger !

You were not content to stay yonder with your sheep and goats,²⁷
Giggling *He ! he ! he ! he !* with scandal mongering sniggers !
You must needs display yourselves as gluttons baffled for want of
breath !²⁸

Well, you are incapable of other things ; or if you are, then come
along !

²⁴ These songs are typical of a great body of topical verse, frequently composed extemporally at *ngoma* or public " dances," and which records in particularity, but often in metaphor, the events of the time.

²⁵ *Tafi*, the spinefoot fish (*Siganus nebulosus*). Its flesh is reckoned as poor eating and the reference gives point to the taunt of gluttony, i.e. for conquest. Cp. the proverb, taunt to a jackanapes, *Ewe mtuje, kwamba wali tafi wengeleje !* O thou sea-bat, and if you were a spinefoot. what then !

²⁶ *Kiroboo*, *Manyema* ; probably merely satirical pseudonyms, meaning " the flea " and " the itching," the implication being that the Lamu attacking force was bitten by the " flea " of exigency and left with the recourse of " scratching " its disappointed hopes of an assault upon Mombasa. Cp. a satire of the Mazrui (seditions) addressed to political opponents, *Nyute mwasumbuka, enywi vikunewe !* You have put yourselves in a pother, you fleas !

²⁷ Sheep and goats, euphemistically for " women and wives."

²⁸ The implication seems to be that the " gluttonous " Lamu men stopped at the Vuma to gorge upon even the despised *tafi* fish, instead of pressing their attack !

Basi hata walipokisa kusi wakaenenda watu wa Lamu Muvita wakai-pija wakavunda Muji wa Kale.²⁹ Hapo ndipo walipofanya shauri muntu wa Pate na muntu wa Muvita kuya kuipija Lamu. Sababu kwalina mafu-lume wa Pate, Bwana Bakari wa Bwana Mkuu.³⁰ Alikuya Lamu akaoa muke akapata na banati wawili kawatukua kuwapeka Pate.

Katika banati hao umoya kaolewa na Bayaye wa Shiye³¹ akamuzaa Fumo Luti wa Bayaye. Na wakati huo mufalume ni Bwana Madi.³² Akausia, "Nifapo mimi ufalume na uwe nao Fumo Luti wa Bayaye kwa sababu kuondoa fitina na kupata nguvu za watu ilikuwa pamoya na kijana tao."³³

Alipokufa wakakhalifu wakampa muntu mungineo³⁴ katawali; basi ikawa fitina baina yao. Basi watu wa Lamu wakenda Pate kumu' awini kijana tao zita zikatulu.

Basi wakafanya shauri watu wa Pate kenenda Muvita kumwamkua Hamed Muhammed al-Mazru'³⁵ aye afanye suluhu baina yao. Akaya Pate akawusilihi.

Watu wa Lamu wakarudi wakaya zao Lamu. Wakisa kurudia hoko nyuma yao wakamushika Fumo Luti al-mazkur wakamufunga wakamupeka Muvita wakamuua.³⁶ Basi hiyo ndiyo yalokuwa sababu za zita za Shela.

²⁹ The *Mji wa Kale* or Old Town, according to a Sw. history, *Asili ya Mvita*, was founded at the time of the building by the Portuguese of Fort Jesus at Mombasa, A.D. 1594 "at the time they came there were people at the village . . . and later they built houses . . . and that was the origin of what is called *Mji wa Kale*."

³⁰ Bwana Bakari wa Bwana Mkuu died c. 1768 A.D. A similar story of a Lamu marriage is related of Bw. Bakari b. Bw. Mkuu b. Abubekr, c. 1500-1550 A.D. The Lamu women have always been famed for their beauty and graces and a number of poems are extant extolling their charms.

³¹ Bayaye wa Shiye was a nobleman and craftsman of Pate. He is amongst those mentioned in the notorious "Mzigo" satire of the poet Ali Koti; and he was probably of the family of the Bayaye bin Mkuu Jamal-al-Lail (the family still flourishes) who made the ivory *siwa*-horn for Mwana Darini in c. 1698. This is the ivory *siwa* now at Lamu.

³² Muhammad bin Abubakar, commonly called Bwana Fumo Madi, died 1809 A.D.

³³ Cp. the account in Stigand, op. cit. p. 81. The Lamu people were the partisans of the Nabahan Fumoluti wa Bayeye. Ahamed bin Sheikh succeeded

But as soon as the wet season ended the men of Lamu went on to Mombasa and attacked it and subdued the Mji wa Kale (Old Town).²⁹ It was at that time that a Pate man and a Mombasan man made a plan to come and attack Lamu. The reason was that there was a king of Pate, Bwana Bakari wa Bwana Mkuu.³⁰ He came to Lamu and married a woman and by her had two daughters ; and he took them to Pate.

Of these daughters one was wed by Bayaye wa Shiye³¹ and begat Fumo Luti wa Bayaye. At that time the king was Bwana Madi.³² He directed, " When I die, let the rulership be with Fumo Luti wa Bayaye in order to avert intrigue and to gain the strength of the people being united in one of their own kinsmen."³³

When he died they rebelled and gave the rulership to another man altogether,³⁴ and he ruled ; so that intrigue came about between them. Then the men of Lamu went to Pate to assist their kinsmen ; and war went on for a long time.

The people of Pate then made a plan to go to Mombasa and to address Hamed Muhammed al-Mazrui³⁵ so that he might come and effect conciliation between them. He came to Pate and reconciled them.

The men of Lamu returned to their homes at Lamu. And no sooner had they returned than behind their backs they (the Pateans) seized the aforesaid Fumo Luti and bound him and took him to Mombasa and put him to death.³⁶ This was what became the cause of the battle of Shela.

Bwana Madi and with the assistance of the Mombasan Mazrui' attacked the Lamu army at Shela, suffering complete defeat, in A.D. 1812, in which same year he died. Lamu then sought the assistance of Seyyid Said bin Sultan who sent a governor, Muhammad bin Nasir al-Busaid, and 400 men to garrison Lamu.

³⁴ Ahamed b. Sheikh, Bw. Madi's nephew succeeded. He was the son of Bw. Sheikh b. Sutan Fumoluti on whose death in 1776-7, Fumomadi, his nephew had succeeded. The accession of Ahamed b. Sheikh thus restored the line.

³⁵ Hamed bin Muhammed al-Mazrui' was the fifth Mazrui' governor of Mombasa. c. 1780-1814 A.D.

³⁶ Another account states that he was assassinated by Siu men at a plantation known as Kishimbe ; and according to a Patean version he was poisoned by a dis-sentient faction of his own townsmen at Lamu ! The present account, by a Lamu chronicler, lays the crime at Pate's door ; but students of modern European history will not be unfamiliar with such disclaimers of deeds assassinate !

Na kabula ya haya walipatana sana watu wa Lamu na Waarabu wa Muvita kuwaka gereza Lamu. Wale watu wa Muvita kupatana kwao ni hila. Wakaona, "Na tuwake gereza tukisa maneno ni hapo." Basi wakaeta muntu wao kusimama katika kuwaka Muarabu hamukuwa Abdallah bin Zahoro al-Mazrui'. Akawasili Lamu. Watu wa Lamu wakafanya nyumba ili akae, akaiza kushuka akilala zomboni mwake. Na wakati hono mkubwa wa wazee wa Lamu ni Bwana Zahidi bin Mgumi³⁷ naye ali muntu wa akili sana na taratibu jema.

Akaona, "Mambo haya ya huyo Abdallah bin Zahoro kuya Lamu shauri letu moja; ameiza kushuka muyini, hulala toboni; hapana shaka pana maana." Basi, Bwana Zahidi kafanya takula kwa sani³⁸ na barua ya kuwa zatoka Pate, kamwetee Abdallah bin Zahoro na salamu ya kwamba "Wa salimu wa Pate! Na nyaraka hizi twataka jawabu kwa upesi kwani watu wa Lamu wasitambue twatoka Pate."

Kajibu; barua kawapa wenye dau na salamu. Dau likatoka hata Munazi Umoya likayegesha wakamweteya Bwana Zahidi waraka na salamu. Na Bwana Zahidi alifanya haya yote bila kumushauri muntu wala asiwape khabari wenziye mui. Bwana Zahidi kashoma nyaraka zote.

Hatta asubuhi Bwana Zahidi kaamurisha watu wakuu wa mui na wazee katika mahafara kamwita na Muarabu Abdallah bin Zahoro al Mazrui'. Alipo hudhuria Bwana Zahidi katowa waraka kawapa wazee wa mui wakasoma.

Wakisa kusoma wazee akampa na Abdallah bin Zahoro khati yake aliyoyandika usiku. Akashangaa sana Abdallah bin Zahoro asiye jawabu la kunena. Katwaa hakika ya mambo yakwe kuyuekana yote na watu wa Lamu.

Bwana Zahidi kamwambia Abdallah bin Zahoro, "Huna rukhusa ya kuketi tena safiri wende zako!" Kasafiri kenda Pate. Ndiyo mwanzo wa zita za Shela.

³⁷ Zahidi bin Mgumi was a councillor of Lamu and also a poet of renown; his services were in request at wedding and other festivities and MS. collections of his compositions are extant. Cp. Stigand, op. cit., p. 81 for another version of the circumstances prompting his ruse.

³⁸ It is customary for a token gift to accompany a letter. Cf. the proverb: *Waraka usio kitu usio na tasalamu akipolekewa mtu akisoma hau tamu*: (A letter without anything, without a greeting gift, holds no pleasure to him who reads it.)

And before these happenings the men of Lamu and the Arabs of Mombasa had come to a firm agreement together to build a stone fort at Lamu. But the treatying of those Mombasa people with them was a guileful scheme. They saw, "Once we have built the fort then the say is here with us." So they sent their man to oversee the business of building, an Arab called Abdallah bin Zahoro al-Mazrui'. He arrived at Lamu. The folk of Lamu got ready a house for him to stay at ; but he refused to land and instead slept in his ships.

Now, at that time the chief of the elders of Lamu was Bwana Zahidi bin Mguni³⁷ and he was a very shrewd man of sound caution.

He perceived, "The affairs of this man Abdallah bin Zahoro coming to Lamu, and ours, are one ; yet he has refused to come ashore in the town and he sleeps in his ship. Without doubt there is a good reason." Then Bwana Zahidi made ready a choice dish of food³⁸ and some letters as though they had come from Pate calling upon Abdallah bin Zahoro with compliments, that is to say, "Greetings from Pate ; and as to these letters, we desire a reply with haste so that the people of Lamu may not get to know that we are come from Pate." He (Zahoro) replied and gave the answering letters to the dhow-master with compliments. The dhow set off and in due course beached at Mnazi Moja (Lone Palm) and there sent the letter and greetings to Bwana Zahidi. And Bwana Zahidi had done all this without advising any man, not even to his close friends in the town did he give information.

Bwana Zahidi read the letters (of Zahoro's) thoroughly.

Then, in the morning, Bwana Zahidi ordered the chief men of the town and the elders to an urgent council and he called also the Arab Abdallah bin Zahoro al-Mazrui'.

When he had arrived before them, Bwana Zahidi took out the letters and gave them to the elders of the town ; and they read them. When they had read them he gave them to Abdallah bin Zahoro to read and Abdallah bin Zahoro recognised his own letter that he had written the previous evening ; and he was dumbfounded and knew not what to say in answer. He had to take it as certain proof that all his affairs were known by the men of Lamu.

Bwana Zahidi then said to Abdallah bin Zahoro, "You have not permission to remain here any longer, travel and get you gone !" So he travelled to Pate.

That, indeed, was the beginning of the battle of Shela.

Watu wa Lamu walipo sikia ziyao zita za Muvita³⁹ wakatowa tombo kuvijia baharini kuzengeya na khabari.

Wakenda hatta Tenewi⁴⁰ kukapita tombo ta watu wa Mambasa kasidi yake kenda Pate. Hata wakikoma Tenewi wakaona tombo ta watu wa Lamu wakataka khabari ya Lamu. Watu wa Lamu wakamujibu ya Kuwa, "Lamu imetamalakiwa na Waarabu wa Muvita, naswi tumetolewa Lamu kasidi kuangalia zombo zitokao Muvita kenda Pate kuwaambiwa wende Lamu, ndiyo amri. Maana kuwahadaa.

Na katika tombo hiko alikuwemo Muarabu hitwa Muhammad bin Shamsi al-Ma'awaliy. Watu wa Lamu wakamwambia Muhammad Shamsi.⁴¹ "Kasidi yetu tumeyetwa hapa kuangalia zombo zisinende Pate kwani Liwali uko Lamu. Wakamutwaa Muhammad Shamsi kwa hila wakamutiya tomboni mwao. Watu wa Lamu na baadhi ya watu wa Muvita wakangia katika tombo ta watu wa Lamu.

Zikatoka zombo zo ziwili Tenewi ta watu wa Lamu na watu wa Muvita wakaya hata milangoni zombo zo ziwili zikisa kungia ndani Shela⁴² watu wa Lamu wakapija ngoma katika tombo tao aliyomo Muhammad Shamsi wakatowa na nyimbo :

*Alikenda Juma ili kudasisi
Kenda kawakuta wakivua nswi
Teka la Tenewi Hamadi Shamsi !*

Hapo ndipo kufahamu watu wa Lamu wamemuhadaa. Kaketi Lamu katika amani yeye na mali yakwe na tombo lakwe hata zalipo kisa zitu kenda zake kwa amani.

Basi watu wa Lamu walipo sikia zita ziyao nao ni safu mbili katika mui wa Lamu wakafanya mateso ina lakwe hitwa gungu⁴³ ili kuulizana mashauri.

³⁹ The Pateans had come to a war-pact with the Mombasan Mazrui, for the latter to make a spurious alliance with, and to fortify, Lamu, and then, the fort ready, the Pateans were to attack Lamu and capture the citadel in concert with its (Mazrui's) betrayers. Zahidi's ruse upon Abdallah bin Zahoro effectually short-circuited that scheme.

⁴⁰ Tenewi on Ras Tenewi-ati, about 12 miles S.W. of Lamu.

⁴¹ Muhammad Shamsi was evidently upon a trading expedition ; he was probably of the kin of Muhammad bin Salim al-Mutha jir bin Ahmed bin Husein mentioned in the *Shamsu Dhahira*.

The men of Lamu when they heard of the attack which was coming from Mombasa³⁹ sent out ships to scour the seas and seek for information.

They went as far as Tenewi⁴⁰ and there there passed a ship of the men of Mombasa, its intention being to go to Pate. Until, as they lay to at Tenewi they saw the ship of the men of Lamu and requested news of Lamu. The Lamu men replied to the effect, "Lamu has come under the rule of the Arabs of Mombasa, and we have been sent out from Lamu in order to watch out for vessels coming from Mombasa and going to Pate, to tell them that they must go to Lamu ; that is a command." Their purpose was to deceive them.

Now, in this same vessel there was an Arab called Muhammad bin Shamsi⁴¹ al-Ma'awaliy. The men of Lamu said to Muhammad Shamsi, "The purpose which has brought us here is to keep a look-out for vessels so that they do not go on to Pate, because the Governor is at Lamu." And they took Muhammad Shamsi by guile and put him into their own ship. The men of Lamu and some of the men of Mombasa got into the ship of the Lamu men.

The two ships set off, both together, from Tenewi, that of the Lamu men and of the men of Mombasa and they came on and reached the harbour entrance both together and when they had got right into the Shela⁴² fairway, the Lamu men beat a drum on their ship, in which was Muhammad Shamsi, and they burst into song :

Juma went to do some spying,
And, going, met some people catching fish !
And their haul at Tenewi was Hamadi Shamsi !

Then indeed did he understand how the Lamu men had deceived him. He stayed at Lamu in peace, he and his merchandise and his ship, until the war was ended and then in peace went his way.

So, when the people of Lamu heard that war was on its way, they had two regiments at the town of Lamu ; and they organised an oration-dance,⁴³ called by the name *gungu*, in order to ask advice of each other.

⁴² Shela stands on the westerly point of Lamu island.

⁴³ The *gungu* or oration-dance is said to be of Hejazian origin. As performed by the Sw. it dates back to the 12th century when the most famous of the *gungu* was held at Pate on the occasion of the escape from prison of the hero Liongo Fumo. A description of the appointments for the dance and the toilet of the dancers is given in *Hadithi ya Liongo* (unpublished MS.). A great number of *gungu* songs are extant.

Kwanda katunga shairi Bwana Zahidi bin Mgumi :

*Tuna kori za asili tusizoyuwa mipaka,
Hulima sute wajoli tukivunia shirika.⁴⁴
Kuna nokowa jamali utashiye kutubuka ;
Kunyamaa tumetoka mwatupa shauri gani ?*

*Mula shokowa la pemba na hapa ataka kula,
Uyao kiwambawamba na kutingisha mazila.
Ameyitenda kuwa simba kuya asina sumila ;
Kiya tashuka Shela, Suudi mutamtendani ?*

Kajibu Sheikh Ali bin Ahmad Saji al-Asafayyin :

*Lakutenda situuze ; situuze lakutenda !
Metufunda mwanamizi ; mwanamizi metufunda.⁴⁵
Kuwa punda tuyizize ; tuyizize kuwa punda,⁴⁶
Kwandika tapo tutenda hilo halipatikani !*

Kanena Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Lamuy :

*Tukiriziye hathiri watumwa na waungwana ,⁴⁷
Bunduki zimeshamari tupa tuziye na tana ;
Ili kuwizia 'ari maumbu zetu na wana.
Kuhadaana hapana yapisiye na zamani.⁴⁸*

⁴⁴ Slave-settlements, which grew to villages, were established outside the towns for the cultivation of land, the slaves, of several masters, working under an elder or "sheikh" and sharing with their masters the produce raised. On some plantations produce was shared equally ; on others the coconuts were tribute to the master, the slaves taking maize, rice, millet, etc., grown by them.

⁴⁵ The reference may be to the helplessness of hermit-crabs. Cp. the proverb : *Kaa hutokotwa kwa maji yakwe*, said of an effortless person who, when disaster comes, is "stewed in his own juice."

⁴⁶ The earliest note of the use of pack-asses on the Coast.

⁴⁷ The *ngoma* or "dances" were the occasion for public announcements, orations and harangues, and both the freemen and the bondsmen had a right of voice in matters of common policy and public interest. We find this noted in an old verse :

*Ngoma ni ya wana na watu wazima
Tangu waungwana hata na watuma.
The ngoma is for youths and for mature folk
From the free-born to the people of the bondsman's yoke.*

First Bwana Zahidi bin Mgumi composed a song :

It is our pride of old that we heed no fencing lines ;
 Always we work like fellow slaves⁴⁴ and equally share our harvest.
 Here, now, is an elegant overseer whose desire is to flog our
 backs raw.
 We are tired of submitting dumbly ; so what advice do ye give ?

He is an eater of millet-husks who now wants to feed here,
 Coming arush, like a whirlwind, to shake down a crop of troubles !
 He fancies himself like a lion ; though none but he says so !
 When he comes he will land at Shela : and what will you Suudi
 troops do to him ?

Sheikh Ali bin Ahmad Saji al-Asafayyin replied :

What to do you need not ask us ; you need not ask us what
 to do !
 He would treat us like hermit-crabs ; like hermit-crabs⁴⁵ he
 would treat us.
 We decline to be pack-asses ; to be pack-asses we decline.⁴⁶
 For us to be harnessed with pack-bags and driven to work,
 that is just what he will not achieve !

Then Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Lamuy spake :

That to which we agree, both the slaves and the freeborn, is
 plain,⁴⁷
 Our guns are at cock and our powder-flasks and flints we have
 ready,
 Prepared to ward off disgrace from our sisters and children
 Without being beguiled by what happened long ago.⁴⁸

Although *mtuma* (commonly *mtumwa*) is usually translated as "slave," the Swahili *watuma* were by no means devoid of civic and social rights. Their status was of villeinage rather than "slavery," in the popular conception of the latter term.

Relations between freemen and *watuma* were easy-going and as a class the bondsmen appear to have been well treated and, both socially and economically, were in a better position than most of their descendants are as industrialised freemen to-day.

⁴⁸ The reference is evidently to some previous intrigue or attack by Pate—possibly to the ruse of the *mitepe* which were taken overland (p. 9-10 *supra*).

Kanena Abubakari bin Jabir :

Naapa kwa Mola yanga dhuli si yetu pata ;

Naswi tuna mizinga⁴⁹ mivi na via tiputa.

Na Suudi walina panga na wataye-wa kizuta

Turathi sambo kutota sute tukawa mayini.

Na hapo Lamu yali safu mbili kama tumezotangulia kunena, Suudi na Zena. Zikaya zita Waarabu wa Muvita na watu wa Pate na Watikuu.⁵⁰ Jumla ya zombo zalokuya na jaeshi zombo 80, thammini. Na safu za Zena ndiyo yalokipenda Waarabu wa Muvita. Na watu wa Pate wakashuka Shela wakatoka watu wa Lamu safu ya Suudi wakapijana nao. Na safu ya Zena isende zitani ikapijana safu ya Su'udi zita hata zikasikilia Hedabu.⁵¹

Na watu wa Muvita walikuwa wamewagana na watu wa Lamu safu ya Zena, "Fanyani alama bendera katika majumba yenu maana tusiwathuru tungiyapo." Hata walipoona zita zimekurubia muiyi wakaona haya yao hayafui washindapo watu wa Muvita "hayatuteyua hoko kayani ama hoko kayani." Wakenda zita Mungu kazipa nguvu zita wakafa Waarabu wangi sana wa Muvita na Wapate hapana kiyasi. Wakakimbia wakazunguka kwa Kipungani katika kisiwa ta Lamu. Wakafanya masikani kasidi wawane tena. Watu wa Lamu wakafanya shauri kenda kuwapija kabula ya kuyawao. Basi kuna watu wawapenda katika watu wa Lamu wakapeka khabari ya kutuka kwa watu wa Lamu kuwendea Kipungani.

Walipokenda watu wa Lamu Kipungani wakawadirika wameziye kondoka wameingia zomboni mwao nao hawakudirika kupika na baki ya zombo hawakudirika kuzondowa mitee sufuria walikuwa katika kupika.

Na kabula ya kupijana wakati zalipo shitadi fitina watu wa Lamu walitoa watu wa kenda Arabuni kamutwaa Seyyidina Sa'id bin Sultan kwa

⁴⁹ Some guns had been buried or abandoned by the Portuguese at Hedabu and the cannon here mentioned are probably those same.

⁵⁰ *Watikuu*=*wa nti kuu*, lit: folk of the mainland. The term is applied to the Bajun people of the mainland to the immediate north of Lamu. They claim to be descendants of immigrants from the Bani Yuni, a clan said to be still represented at Hodeida in S.W. Arabia.

⁵¹ The attack occurred on 5th Muharram, 1222, A.H.=15th March, 1807, A.D. For some traditions upon it cp. Stigand, op. cit. pp. 76-77.

Then spake Abubakari bin Jabir :

I swear by God above that abasement is not our lot.

Not when we have cannons⁴⁹, and bows and thewy limbs to smite with !

And the Suudi troops have swords ; as for those who would talk of bereavement,

We are content if the ship must sink that we all drown together.

And here at Lamu, as we have already said above, there were two regiments, those of Suudi and Zena. The attack came with the Arabs of Mombasa and the men of the Pate and the Wतिकु.⁵⁰ In all the vessels with troops totalled eighty ships. Now, the ranks of Zena were those who favoured the Arabs of Mombasa. The men of Pate landed at Shela and the men of Suudi's regiment went out and fought with them. But Zena's regiment did not go into the battle ; Suudi's regiment fought until the conflict neared Hedabu.⁵¹

The men of Mombasa had come to an agreement with the Lamu men of Zena's regiment. " Do ye put a sign of a flag on your houses so that we shall not harm your people when we enter."

But as soon as they saw that the fighting was nearing the town, they saw that their holding back would not avail, for, when the men of Mombasa conquered " they will not choose us from this place and that in the town." So they went into the battle and God gave vigour to the fight and very many of the Mombasan Arabs died and of the men of Pate beyond reckoning.

Then they fled and made a detour by way of Kipungani on the (far end of) Lamu Island. They made bivouacs with the intention of fighting again. Then the men of Lamu made a plan to go and fight them before they could assemble. But there were people who liked them amongst the folk of Lamu and they sent them news of their being surprised by the Lamu men going on to Kipungani.

When the men of Lamu went to Kipungani they (the enemy) had had time to get completely away and had got into their ships but they had not had time to cook a meal ; and apart from the ships they had not had time to take away even the rice which they were in the midst of cooking in their pots.

And before the fighting at a time when the dissension had increased the men of Lamu had sent out some men to go to Arabia and fetch Seyyid Sa'id bin Sultan because they saw, at that time, the great strength of the

sababu walipo ona nguvu nyingi za watu wa Muvita na watu wa Pate hata alipo iyeta watu Seyyidina Sa'id bin Sultan⁵³ zita zimeziye kuwana.

Basi watu wa Lamu wakamuwakia gereza Seyyidina Sa'id Sultan akaweka watu wake kaweka na Liwali Khalif bin Nasur na Waarabu na Nubi jumula yake watu 500, hamsa miya, wakaketi.

Seyyidina Sa'id bin Sultan kawatawali watu wa Lamu kaketi nao sana kiwatunda na ra'ia hata Waarabu wakafanya husudi kwa jinsi Seyyid Sa'id kuketi kwa uzuri sana na kupenda ra'ia na kuwata na heshima.

Na wakati huno wa Seyyidi Sa'id walipo ona udhia watu wa Lamu ya kula siku na watu wa Kao⁵⁴ wakenda watu wa Lamu wakapijana wakaumia sana watu wa Lamu jumla Watu wima 80, thamani. Na sababu hiyo watu wa Lamu walipijana kwanda wakashinda wakafundika watu wa Kau.

Hata usiku watu wa Lamu wakafanya mashauri kirudi kwani hapana maboma. Watu wangi wametangulia kirudi walipo rudi watu wa Kau wakawafuwata nyuma wakasimama kuwana baadhi ya watu ni hao waliyo-kufa.

Na Seyyidina Sa'id bin Sultan ali'eshi nyaka sitini katika 'ezi alipo kufa sanmat 1273.⁵⁴ Katawali kijana take Seyyidina Majidi Sa'idi bin Sultan.

Wajira huno Siu⁵⁵ yalikhaliifu kaitamalaki na Kipini na Kau na Pate. Naye kaketi na ra'ia kwa wema nao walimuti'i kiwapa na heshima.

Na zamani alipokuya kupija Siu watu wa Lamu walipowa amara na Sayidi kuzenga baharini kwa zombo zao hata walipoyua watu wa Siu waka-

⁵³ Seyyid Sa'id garrisoned Lamu, 1812. He made Zanzibar his capital in 1832.

⁵⁴ Kao, now a small village of huts standing amidst coconut-palm groves, is on a northern bend of the upper estuary of the Tana River. It is a settlement of considerable age and is one of the towns mentioned in the Lingo tradition of the 12th century.

⁵⁵ Seyyid Sa'id bin Sultan died at sea, October 19, 1856, aged sixty-five. Majid, his successor, was his younger son, Thuwein, the elder, remaining as sultan of Muskat. For his life see Pearce, F.B., *Zanzibar*, London, 1920 and Ingrams, W. H., *Zanzibar*, London, 1931, and Burton, R. F., *Zanzibar*, London, 1872.

Mombasa people and of the men of Pate, though by the time Seyyid Sa'id bin Sultan brought men the war⁵² was fought and finished.

So the men of Lamu built for him a fortress and our Lord Sa'id Sultan placed his men there and appointed a governor, Khalif bin Nasor, with Arabs and Nubians, a total of five hundred men ; and they remained there.

Our Lord Sa'id bin Sultan governed the people of Lamu and dwelled well with them and so guarded the common folk that the Arabs became envious at the beneficent manner in which Lord Sa'id behaved in caring for the people of Lamu ; nor did he abandon this inclination to look after the common folk and to let them live in respect.

And this time of Lord Sa'id was when the people of Lamu saw cause of daily affront from the people of Kau,⁵³ and the men of Lamu went and fought with them and they pressed them hard, did the men of Lamu, and a total of eighty stalwart men were killed. And because of this the men of Lamu in their first fight defeated and routed the men of Kau.

Later, in the evening, the men of Lamu made a plan to return home because there were no defensive posts. Many of them went ahead to return and as they were on their way back the men of Kau followed in the rear so that they came to a standstill and fought and some of these men were those who lost their lives.

And our Lord Sa'id bin Sultan had lived sixty years in honour when he died in the year A.H.1273.⁵⁴ Then his son, the Lord Majid Sa'id bin Sultan ruled.

At this time Siu⁵⁵ rebelled and he took it under his rule and governed it with Kipini and Kau and Pate. And he dwelled in good favour with the populace and they obeyed him and paid him due respect.

And formerly, when he had come to fight with Siu, the men of Lamu were given an order by Lord Sa'id to scour the seas in their vessels ; so that, when the people of Siu got to know, they made a plan to attack

⁵² Muhammad bin Sheikh, son of Bwana Mataka (see footnote ¹²) sought to regain power at Siu where his family had for so long ruled. He was defeated and later, visiting Zanzibar at the Sultan's request, was betrayed and thrust into prison at Mombasa, where he died. The episode is dealt with in detail in Sw. historical chronicle (unpublished MSS.), and it forms the theme of a lengthy poem, "*Risala wa Zinjibari*." The downfall of the Mataka rule at Siu has become an historical byword and is noted in verses during the Mombasan Mazrui dissensions of the 1800's.

*fanya shauri kupija Mpeketoni*⁵⁶ ni kariya ya watu wa Lamu jamii ya zakula zalikitoka hoko na ngombe wa Lamu walikuweko hoko.

*Wakaya ghafula watu wa Siu wakatukua ngombe wakatukua jumla ya mali ndipo watu wa Lamu nao wakafanya zita wakapija Ukanga*⁵⁷ *wakayo-ndoa kabisa katika dahari ya Seyyidina Majid bin Sa'id.*⁵⁸

*Na umuri wake katika mahumukim alipata nyaka 15, hamsa'ashra, 1287 sannat akatawali Seyyidina Barghash bin Sa'id.*⁵⁹

*Alipotawali katengeza jami'i ya mambo ya kula lihitajiwalo katika dola kafanya na jami'i za a jabu ambao hatukuziona katamlaki kula mahala zikangia katika twa'a yake nti zote illa Witu.*⁶⁰

Naye hakuwata kuifuwata Witu kwa zita hata wakaona mashaka akatwaa himaya kwa Jermani. Naye kapata katika mahakimu ya dola yake nyaka 18, themin'ashara.

*Ba'ada yake katawali Seyyidina Khalifa bin Seyyidina Sa'id Sultan sannat 1305.*⁶¹ *Naye kakaa na watu sana, kipenda ra'iya na watu waote wakimupenda. 'Umuri wake ukawa mufupi kapata nyaka miwili.*

*Katawali Seyyidina Aliy bin Sa'id Sultan*⁶² *naye kapata umuri nyaka mitatu na ra'iya hawakuona raha kwake kwa maisha na nafuu na baraka zikapungua.*

⁵⁶ Mpeketoni, on the mainland behind Ras Tenewiati, is about eight miles distant S.S.W. of Lamu town. It is to be remembered that Lamu, as a sultanate, included mainland as well as island terrain.

⁵⁷ Ukanga, on the mainland, is midway between Mpeketoni and Kau and about nine miles east of the latter.

⁵⁸ Seyyid Majid bin Sa'id died at Zanzibar in 1870, aged thirty-six. His conquest of the coastal sultanate is recorded in detail in Sw. chronicles (unpublished MSS.) His successor, Barghash, was his brother.

⁵⁹ Seyyid Barghash bin Sa'id died at Zanzibar, 1888, aged fifty-five. His successor, Khalifa, was his brother.

⁶⁰ Witu, on the mainland, was the refugee state formed by the supporters and followers of Ahamed bin Fumo Luti, c. 1860-1885, the last of the Nabahan sultans of Pate. For a contemporary account of this "colony of outlaws,"

Mpeketoni.⁵⁶ It was the village of the people of Lamu from whence all their food stores came and where the cattle of Lamu were then kept.

The men of Siu came suddenly and carried away the cattle and the whole of the valuables ; and then it was that the men of Lamu made war and attacked Ukanga ;⁵⁷ and they obliterated it completely in the lifetime of Lord Majid bin Sa'id.⁵⁸

The time during which he was in power was fifteen years ; and in the year 1287 A.H. Lord Barghash bin Sa'id ruled.⁵⁹

While he reigned he set all affairs in good order and did everything that was needed to be done throughout his kingdom, with many remarkable things, the like of which we had never before seen. And he ruled over all the places, all the districts going under his rule except Witu.⁶⁰

And he never ceased to press war upon Witu until they got into difficulties and he (the sultan of Witu) sought aid of the Germans. And he lived to rule eighteen years over his kingdom.

After him reigned Lord Khalifa bin Seyyid Sa'id Sultan⁶¹ in the year 1305 A.H. And he dwelled well with the people as he cared for the common people and the populace loved him ; but his rule was short and was but two years.

Then reigned Lord Ali bin Sai'd Sultan⁶² and he attained three years of rule but the populace saw no peace during his lifetime and their prosperity and happiness declined.

as Sir A. Hardinge ingenuously calls them, see his Report, *Africa*, No. 7, 1897 (C. 8683) p. 2. Witu has earned itself an opprobrious reputation in Sw. history and it is well to bear in mind that Fumo Luti, the "outlaw" and Mahomed Mataka, the "tyrant" with their following were but resisting the invaders of the land where their ancestors had ruled in fame and culture for more than a thousand years. The decline of their political and social fabric forms the theme of much beautiful Sw. verse, e.g. vv. 36-59 of al-Inkishafi, (Stigand, C.H. *Dialect in Swahili*, Cambridge, 1915, and unpublished completer MSS.)

⁶¹ Seyyid Khalifa bin Sa'id died at Zanzibar, 1890 aged thirty-six. His successor, Ali, was his brother, and the last of Seyyid Sa'id bin Sultan's sons to rule at Zanzibar.

⁶² Seyyid 'Ali bin Sa'id died March 5, 1893. During his reign, on November 4, 1890, the British protectorate was proclaimed over Zanzibar and Pemba.

Ba'ada yake katawali Seyyidina Hamed bin Thuweni naye kapenda ra'iya sana wakaona raha naye alikuwa karimu sanahiye hakuwata kupa watu mali kwa ungi katika 'ezi yake. Na 'umuri wake ukawa mutata kapata nyaka mitatu akafa.

Katawala Seyyidina Hammud bin Muhammad.⁶³ Na sababu yake tusipate tarikhi ya maneno haya ya kwanza ya Lamu tulizo naye mbele.

Watu wa Lamu, mtu akitaka kuowa mke kwalina ghalitha sana mtu hapati kuowa ni sharuti awe ni mtu wa Lamu naye una daraja athna'ashara kuumeni kwake na kukeni kuke kwake.

Hapo hupata kuowa. Ikikosekana daraja moya mtu yeyote halikipata kuowa. Basi watu wakafanya shauri ya kuondoa saluwa hiyo wakajitosa baharini. Ndiyo sababu yakukosekana tarikhi na mtu ye yote maarufu, Fulani bin Fulani hutosha kuoa.

Wa salaam. Maneno haya yote tumenakili kwa Shaibu Faraji bin Hamed al-Bakariy al-Lamuy.

Wakatabahu Saleh bi amri Liwali Abdullah bin Hamed.⁶⁴

⁶³ Seyyid Hamad b. Thuwein was a grandson of Seyyid Sa'id bin Sultan (see footnote ⁶¹).

⁶⁴ Abdallah bin Hamed was, at the time of Sir A. Hardinge's Report (*supra*, footnote ⁶⁰) Wali of Lamu, in the British Native Civil Administration, at an honorarium of 3,000 rupees (£200) per annum. He was, it seems, Wali of Malindi, under Seyyid Barghash, c. 1882. He is not to be confused with the Abdallah bin Hamed bin Muhammad, 6th Mazrui' Wali of Mombasa, 1814-1823.

After him ruled Lord Hamed bin Thuwen and he loved the common people well ; and they enjoyed prosperity : and he was the very fount of generosity, never ceasing to give wealth to people liberally during his reign ; but his rule was short, but three years ; and then he died.

Then reigned Lord Hamad bin Muhammad.⁶³ And it is because of him that we cannot get the dates for the early records of Lamu which we have mentioned above.

With the people of Lamu, when a man wished to marry a wife, there was such great difficulty. A person was unable to get married. It was necessary to be a native of Lamu and to have attained the age of twelve in manhood or in womanhood.

Then one could get married ; but if either age were at fault, no one, be he whomsoever, could get married. Well then, the people made a plan to remove this curse and they threw it (?) into the sea. This, in truth is the reason for being at a lack for dates and how any man whomsoever, whether he be a person of breeding or a mere anybody was qualified to get married.

With compliments. The whole of these records we have copied from Shaibu Faraji bin Hamed al-Bakariy al-Lamuy.

Written down by Saleh at the command of the Governor Abdallah bin Hamed.⁶⁴

LOCATIVE-CLASS NOUNS AND FORMATIVES IN SOTHO

By G. P. LESTRADE

§1. *Scope and objects of paper*

The morphology of a number of words and formatives employed in Sotho stamps them as belonging to one or other of the three locative noun-classes 16, 17 and 18. This phenomenon has not received sufficiently comprehensive and systematic treatment in the literature relating to the language, although some of its manifestations have been sporadically recognized. It seems desirable, therefore, to attempt to give a somewhat fuller account of such words and formatives in their proper philological setting than has been done so far. But the subject, though of considerable interest, is also highly complex, and some of its aspects are of no mean difficulty. This paper, accordingly, lays no claim to exhaustiveness or finality : it is offered merely as a tentative contribution towards a more comprehensive and systematic view of the phenomenon with which it attempts to deal.

§2. *Method of treatment*

The paper will fall into two main divisions. The first will consist chiefly of tables, in which the words and formatives dealt with will be listed in their proper place according to their morphology. The second will consist of a systematic discussion of these words and formatives in their semantic and functional aspects. An acquaintance with the principles of Sotho morphology on the part of the reader is assumed : and in this connection it should be stated that the morphological classification here adopted, and the terminology employed, follow in the main the lines of Prof. Doke's *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar* (2nd edn.) as far as the present writer believes these lines to be applicable to Sotho. Where this is not the case, such will be clear from the context.

In the tables in the first division of this paper, an attempt is made to list the words and formatives in each of the three main varieties of Sotho (Tswana=T., Northern Sotho=NS., Southern Sotho=SS.) in so far as their occurrence in these varieties can be ascertained ; and the forms given are to be regarded as occurring in at least all the main dialects of T., NS. or SS., as the case may be, unless the contrary is indicated. But purely formal or dialectal variants are not usually given, unless they have

a semantic or functional significance. In the second division of the paper the examples of meaning or function are usually taken from only one of the three main varieties; but it may be assumed that similar examples occur, with the necessary changes, in the other two varieties, unless the contrary is clear.

All T. material cited is written in the T. orthography agreed upon in 1937, all NS. material in the orthography for NS. agreed upon in 1930, while all SS. material is written in the standard SS. orthography.

A. OCCURRENCE OF LOCATIVE-CLASS WORDS AND FORMATIVES.

§3. Nouns

In addition to verb-infinitives of class 15, whose relationship to locative noun-class 17 will be discussed later, Sotho possesses a number of words which by their form, concords or both are identifiable as locative-class nouns, defining the latter, for the purposes of this paper, as words which employ locative-class prefixes and/or concords. Such words are listed in the following tables.

Table I: *Nouns with locative-class prefixes*

Class	T.	NS.	SS.	Meaning ¹
(a) <i>Employing locative-class concords exclusively</i>				
16	<i>fêlô</i> ²	<i>felô</i>	—	a place
17	<i>golô</i>	—	—	do.
	<i>godimo</i>	<i>xodimo</i>	<i>holimo</i>	above
18	<i>moragô</i>	<i>moraxô</i>	<i>morao</i>	behind, after
	—	<i>moka</i>	—	entirety; then
(b) <i>Employing locative-class concords alternatively</i>				
17	()	<i>xole</i> ³	()	far
(c) <i>Not employing concords</i>				
16	<i>fatše</i>	<i>fase</i>	<i>fatše</i>	down
17	<i>gole</i>	()	<i>hole</i> ⁴	T. long ago, SS. far

¹ Only the merest indication of the commonest meanings of the words given is attempted. A dash indicates that no corresponding form exists, brackets that the corresponding form has a different use.

² *fêlô* also exists in T.

³ A diminutive *xôjana* is also found.

⁴ A diminutive *hojumu* is also found

Table II : Noun-stems employing locative-class concords

T.	NS.	SS.	Meaning
<i>gae</i>	<i>xae</i>	<i>hae</i>	home
<i>gare</i>	<i>xare</i>	<i>hare</i>	middle, inside
<i>ntlé</i>	<i>ntlé</i>	<i>ntle</i>	outside, besides
<i>pele</i>	<i>pele</i>	<i>pele</i>	before
<i>teng</i>	<i>teng</i>	<i>teng</i>	inside ; there
<i>tlhatshe</i> ¹	<i>tlase</i>	<i>tlase</i>	below

Table III : Nouns with non-locative class prefixes, employing locative-class concords

Class	T.	NS.	SS.	Meaning
(a) Employing locative-class concords exclusively				
9	()	<i>hleng</i>	()	beside
9	—	<i>tletlolo</i>	—	sideways above
(b) Employing locative-class concords alternatively				
3	<i>motlhang</i> ²	()	()	on the day
3	<i>mogang</i> ³	()	()	in the year
3	<i>moseja</i>	<i>mošetsa</i> (dial.)	—	side, bank
3	—	<i>moše</i>	<i>mose</i>	do.
6	()	<i>makxatheng</i> ⁴	()	amidst
9	<i>kgakala</i>	<i>kxakala</i>	—	T. far, NS. outside
9	—	<i>kxaofsi</i>	—	near
9	—	<i>kxole</i> ⁵	—	far
9	<i>thokó</i>	<i>thokó</i>	<i>thoko</i>	side, aside

§4. Prefixes

The following table lists the prefixes of the locative-class nouns, as deduced from Table I, together with that of class 15.

¹ Other forms are *tlhatshe*, *tlhatse*.

² *ntlhang* (9) is also found.

³ *ngógang* (3) is also found. Both are variants of *ngwageng* from *ngwaga*(3).

⁴ *maxareng* is also found, but does not take locative-class concords.

⁵ *kxole* is a class 9 noun, with *xole* as stem.

Table IV : Prefixes of noun-classes 16, 17/15 and 18

Class	T.	NS.	SS.
16	<i>fa</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>fa</i>
	<i>fe</i> ¹ }	<i>fe</i>	—
	<i>fe</i> ² }	—	—
17/15	<i>go</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>ho</i>
18	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>

§5. Pronouns

The following tables show the locative-class pronouns found in Sotho, together with those of class 15.

Table V : Absolute Pronouns

Class	T.	NS.	SS.
16	—	—	—
17/15	<i>góna</i>	<i>xóna</i>	<i>hóna</i>
18	—	—	—

Table VI : Demonstrative Pronoun (Non-Emphatic)

Class	T.	NS.	SS.
(a) First Position			
16	<i>fa</i>	<i>fa</i>	—
	<i>fano</i>	<i>fano</i>	—
17/15	<i>go</i> ³	—	<i>ho</i> ⁴
	—	—	<i>hóna</i> ⁵
18	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	—
	<i>mono</i>	<i>mono</i>	—
	<i>mona</i>	—	<i>mona</i>
(b) Second Position			
16	<i>fo</i> ⁶	<i>fao</i>	—
17/15	—	—	<i>hoo</i>
	—	—	<i>hono</i>
18	<i>mou</i> ⁶	<i>moo</i>	<i>moo</i>
	—	—	<i>mono</i> ⁷

¹ For the alternation of *fa*, *fe*, cf. that of *ba*, *be* in the name BaTšwana, BeTšwana.

² *félô* is the commoner form.

³ *go* is used only in the case of *motlhang* and *mogang*.

⁴ and ⁵ *ho* and *hóna* are found only with class 15 nouns.

⁶ An alternative form *fong* exists.

⁷ cf. SS. *mono* (second position) with T. and NS. *mono* (first position).

(c) *Third Position*

16	<i>fale</i>	<i>fala</i>	—
17/15	—	—	<i>hola</i>
	—	—	<i>hane</i>
18	<i>mole</i>	<i>mola</i>	<i>mola</i>
	—	—	<i>mane</i>

There is also a series of compound demonstrative pronouns of an emphatic character, consisting of (i) the absolute pronoun, followed by (ii) the demonstrative pronoun, first, second or third position, according to the position which it is desired to indicate. In all other classes, both members of the compound belong to the same class; but in the case of the locative classes, the first member belongs to class 17/15, while the second may belong to class 16, 17/15 or 18. The following table shows only the commonest forms of the first position: the other forms and positions may be readily deduced.

Table VII: *Demonstrative Pronoun (Emphatic)*

Class	T.	NS.	SS.
16	<i>góna-fa</i>	<i>xóna-fa</i>	—
17/15	—	—	<i>hona-hona</i>
18	<i>góna-mo</i>	<i>xóna-mo</i>	—
	<i>góna-mona</i>	—	<i>hóna-mona</i>

Although Enumeratives and Qualificatives may function as Pronouns as well as in their own right, they do not adopt a different form when their function changes. It is accordingly unnecessary to give special tables of the Enumerative and Qualificative Pronouns.

§6. *Locative Demonstrative Copulatives*

Sotho possesses locative-class forms of the locative demonstrative copulatives, both in the series formed with *ké* and in the series formed with *še-*, the former being used in T. and SS. and (sporadically) in NS., the latter being confined to NS. A few first-position forms only are given, the remaining forms being easily deduced.

Table VIII: *Locative Demonstrative Copulatives*

Class	T.	NS.	SS.
(a) <i>Formed with ké</i>			
16	<i>ké fa</i>	<i>ké fa</i>	—
17/15	—	—	<i>ké hōna</i>
18	<i>ké mo</i>	<i>ké mo</i>	—
	<i>ké mona</i>	—	<i>ké mona</i>

(b) *Formed with še-*

16	—	šefa	—
17/15	—	—	—
18	—	šemo	—

Emphatic Locative Demonstrative Copulatives may be formed by prefixing *ké* to the emphatic demonstrative pronouns, resulting in such forms as T. *ké góna-fa*, NS. *ké xóna-mo*, SS. *ke hona-hane*. These forms are easily deduced, and will not be detailed.

§7. *Locative Adverbs showing locative-class affinities and demonstrative character*

It will be convenient to list at this stage a number of locative adverbs which appear to show locative-class affinities in their initial component, and which indicate three positions in their final component in the same way as the demonstrative pronouns.

Table IX : *Demonstrative Locative Adverbs*

T.	NS.	SS.
(a) <i>First Position</i>		
<i>kwa</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>koa</i>
—	<i>kua</i>	<i>kooa</i>
<i>kwano</i>	<i>kwano</i>	<i>koano</i>
<i>kwana</i>	—	—
(b) <i>Second Position</i>		
<i>koo</i> ¹	—	<i>koo</i>
(c) <i>Third Position</i>		
<i>kwale</i>	—	—
—	—	<i>koana</i> ²

By prefixing *ké* to the forms in Table IX, a type of Adverbial Demonstrative Copulative is formed, similar in meaning to those given in Table VIII; and by prefixing *góna*, *xóna*, *hona*, as the case may be, a type of Emphatic Locative Demonstrative Adverb is formed, similar in meaning to the Emphatic Demonstrative Pronouns of the locative noun-classes, set out in Table VII. By prefixing *ké* to these latter, a type of Emphatic

¹ The form *kóng* is also found.

² cf. SS. *koana* (third position) with T. *kwana* (first position).

Adverbial Demonstrative Copulative is formed, similar in meaning to the Emphatic Locative Demonstrative Copulative referred to in the lines following Table VIII.

§8. *Concords*

Sotho possesses a fairly full range of locative-class concords, which are set out below, together with those of class 15.

Table X : Locative-Class Concords

<i>Class</i>	<i>T.</i>	<i>NS.</i>	<i>SS.</i>
(a) <i>Subjectival Verb-Concord</i>			
16	—	—	—
17/15	<i>go</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>ho</i>
	<i>ga</i>	<i>xa</i>	<i>ha</i> ¹
18	—	—	—
(b) <i>Objectival Verb-Concord</i>			
16	—	—	—
17/15	<i>go</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>ho</i>
18	—	—	—
(c) <i>Adjectival Concord</i>			

Two kinds of Adjectival Concord occur in Sotho : (i) the Simple, which, although it is evidently the Adjectival Concord proper, is comparatively rare in use, being confined to some common phrases, e.g. T. *monna-mogolo*, *batho-bantšho* ; and (ii) the Compound, which is the one commonly used.² The latter consists of (a) the Demonstrative Pronoun (usually, though not invariably, of the first position) followed by (b) the Simple Adjectival Concord. In all other classes, both members of this compound belong to the same class : in the case of the locative classes, however, they belong to different classes in T. and N.S., though SS. shows regular forms, as will appear below.

(i) <i>Simple</i>			
16	—	—	—
17/15	<i>go</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>ho</i>
18	—	—	—

¹ *ga*, *xa* and *ha* are used in Remote Past Tense only.

² It may even be used instead of the Simple in the phrases cited.

(ii) *Compound*

16	}			
17/15		<i>fa go</i>	<i>fa xo</i>	<i>ho ho</i> ¹
18		<i>mo go</i>	<i>mo xo</i>	

(d) *Enumerative Concord*²

16	—	—	—
17/15	<i>go</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>ho</i>
18	—	—	—

An Emphatic Enumerative Concord may be formed by prefixing *góna*, *xóna*, *hóna*, as the case may be.

(e) *Relative Concord*³

16	<i>fa</i>	<i>fa</i>	—
17/15	<i>go</i> ⁴	—	<i>ho</i> , <i>hoo</i> ⁵
18	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>moo</i> ⁶

(f) *Possessive Concord*

16	—	—	—
17/15	<i>ga</i>	<i>xa</i>	<i>ha</i>
18	—	—	—

¹ *fa go*, *mo go* (*fa xo*, *mo xo*) are used indiscriminately for all these classes; *ho ho* is used only for 17/15.

² This concord is found with certain qualificatives of enumerative significance, e.g. T., NS. and SS. *-fe* (which?), *-sele* (different), T. *-otlhe*, NS. and SS. *-ohle* (all), T. *-pê* (any—in negative expressions only), *-si* (alone).

³ The Relative Concord consists of forms of the Demonstrative Pronoun. Only the commonest forms are here shown; but others are used, though less frequently. The true Relative Concord given here must not be confused with the spurious "relative pronoun" given in some T. and NS. grammars. The latter consists of the true Relative Concord (which introduces all relative clauses, and which always agrees with the antecedent), followed by the Subjective Verb-Concord agreeing with the antecedent. This construction is found only in T. and NS., and then only when the antecedent is also the subject of the relative clause; and it cannot be regarded as a relative pronoun or concord. In SS. no subjective verb-concord is used in such cases; and so SS. grammarians have, perhaps without their knowing it, been saved from making a similar error.

⁴ Used only with *motlhang* and *mogang*.

⁵ Used only for class 15 words.

⁶ Nearly always preceded by *ka*.

B. FUNCTIONAL AND SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF LOCATIVE-CLASS WORDS AND FORMATIVES

We shall now proceed to a systematic discussion of the material presented in the first division of this paper, together with some other relevant matter not there shown.

§9. *Locative-Class Nouns*

(a) *Definition*

For the purposes of this paper, a locative-class noun has been defined as a word which has a locative-class prefix and/or uses locative-class concords. Some of the words in Tables I-III lack one or other of these features: those in Table Ic use no concords; those in Table II have no prefixes (the formatives *fa* and *mo*, which are often used with these stems, are in form demonstrative pronouns and in function adverbs); while those in Table III show prefixes of non-locative noun-classes. But none lacks both features of the definition, which has been framed to include both those words which were originally locative-class nouns and those words which originally belonged to other classes, but have now penetrated into the locative noun-classes.

(b) *Incidence*

An examination of Tables I-III shows that the incidence of the locative-class nouns in the three main varieties of Sotho varies considerably. *féló* (*feló*), *moseja* (*mošetsa*) and *kgakala* (*kxakala*) are found in T. and NS. only; *goló*, and the locative-class functions of *motlhang* and *mogang* are confined to T.; *moka*, *tletlolo*, and the locative-class functions of *xole* (*kxole*), *hleng* and *makxatheng* are confined to NS.; the non-employment of concords by *gole* (*hole*) is found only in T. and SS.; and *moše* (*mose*) is met with in NS. and SS. only. It is also clear that, small as the range of these words is looked at from the point of view of Sotho as a whole, it is even more restricted within any one of its three main varieties.

(c) *Forms*

From the formal aspect, Sotho possesses the following types of locative-class nouns:

(i) Nouns with locative-class prefix (Table I). The prefix used may vary with the same stem (T. *féló*, *goló*); or it may vary in form with different stems (NS. *fase*, *feló*); or it may even vary in form with the same stem (T. *féló*, *feló*).

(ii) Nouns appearing in their stem-form only (Table II). These stems may take one or more prefixed formatives of locative significance (*ka*, *kwa*, *fa*, *mo*, the latter two being locative-class demonstrative pronouns used adverbially);¹ but they do not take prefixes, although they show that they belong to one or other of the locative classes by taking locative-class concords, as well as by their resemblance to locative-class nouns in other Bantu languages.²

(iii) Nouns with non-locative class prefixes, employing locative-class concords either (a) exclusively (Table IIIa) or (b) alternatively with non-locative class concords or other syntactical constructions (Table IIIb).

(d) *Functions*

From the functional point of view, the locative-class nouns fall into the following sub-divisions:

(i) Words which function only as nouns (T. *féló*, *goló*; NS. *feló*).

(ii) Words which function sometimes as nouns, sometimes as adverbs (T. *motlhang*, *mogang*; T., and, *mutatis mutandis*, NS. and SS. *godimo*, *moragó*, *gae*, *gare*, *ntlé*, *pele*, *teng*, *tlhatshe*, *thokó*; T. *moseja*, *kgakala*, N.S. *mošetsa*, *kxakala*; T. *gole*, SS. *hole*; NS. *moše*, SS. *mose*; NS. *moka*, *xole*, *hleng*, *tletlolo*, *makxatheng*, *kxaofsi*, *kxole*). The dividing line between nouns of adverbial meaning and adverbs proper is difficult to draw in any case, and nowhere more so than in the case of the locative-class nouns, which by their very meaning tend to function as adverbs with the greatest of ease. But the nounal function of these words remains distinct from their adverbial function, as the following examples will show. The T. words *godimo*, *moragó*, *gae*, are nouns in the expressions *godimo ga thaba* (the top of the hill), *moragó ga ntlo* (the back of the house), *gae ga gagwé* (his home); they are adverbs in the expressions *di fofa godimo* (they are flying up above), *boella moragó* (turn back), *o ile gae* (he has gone home).

(iii) One word, T. *fatshe*, NS. *fase*, SS. *fatše*, which always functions as an adverb³ (NS. *dula fase*, sit down).

¹ The tones of *fa* and *mo* in these cases are different from the tones of these syllables when used as noun-prefixes. The whole point will be discussed later.

² Omission of prefixes is not rare in Sotho: many nouns of classes 5, 7 and (especially) 10 do it regularly. With Sotho *pele*, *gare* (*xare*, *hare*) *ntlé* cf. e.g. Nguni *phambili*, *phakathi*, *phandle*.

³ The nounal function of *fatshe*, *fase*, *fatše* has been entirely usurped by *tlhatshe*, *tlase*, *tlase*, from the same stem *-se* (cf. NS. *nthse*, there). The phonology of the initial *tl(h)a-* is obscure.

(e) *Nouns of other classes with locative-class stems*

Sotho possesses a number of nouns which have the same stem as locative-class nouns, but other prefixes, used either in addition to or instead of the locative-class prefixes; and such nouns naturally have meanings connected with, though distinct from, those of the locative-class nouns with the same stem. They commonly belong to class 5 as singulars and to class 6 as plurals, but may of course belong to other classes as well, as the following selected list of examples will show. The list does not attempt to be exhaustive, or to give more than the merest indication of the commonest meaning of the words cited.

(i) *Nouns with non-locative prefixes in addition to locative-class prefixes*

- T. *mafêlô*, places; *legodimo*, heaven (pl. *ma-*); *lefatshe*, country (pl. *ma-*);
- NS. *mafêlô*, places; *lexodimo*, heaven (pl. *ma-*); *lefase*, country (pl. *ma-*); *kxole*, far (prefix class 9 + *xole*);
- SS. *leholimo*, heaven (pl. *ma-*); *lefatše*, country (pl. *ma-*); *mahole*, distant places.

(ii) *Nouns with non-locative prefix instead of locative-class prefix*

- T. *selô*, thing (pl. *di-*); *modimo*, spirit (pl. *ba-*, *me-*); *sedimo*, ghost (pl. *di-*); *leragô*, buttock (pl. *ma-*); *legae*, home (pl. *ma-*); *lexare*, middle (pl. *ma-*); *lepele*, pudendum (pl. *ma-*); *letlhatshe*, low-lying place (pl. *ma-*); *boteng*, deep place (pl. *ma-*);
- NS. *selô*, thing (pl. *di-*); *nthse*, there¹; *modimo*, spirit (pl. *ba-*, *me-*); *sedimo*, ghost, oracle (pl. *di-*); *leraxô*, buttock (pl. *ma-*); *nthaxô*, back²; *lexae*, home (pl. *ma-*); *lexare*, middle (pl. *ma-*); *lepele*, *bopele*, pudendum (pl. *ma-*); *leteng*, intestine, kidney (pl. *ma-*); *letlase*, low-lying place (pl. *ma-*);
- SS. *molimo*, spirit (pl. *ba-*, *me-*); *lerao*, back (pl. *ma-*); *nthao*, back;³ *lehae*, home (pl. *ma-*); *lehare*, middle (pl. *ma-*); *lentle*, outside place (pl. *ma-*).

¹ In form a noun meaning "place," in function an adverb meaning "there."

² and ³ NS. *nthaxô* and SS. *nthao* are class 9 nouns formed from the stem *-raxô*, *-rao*, with strengthening, usual in this class, and with the nasal prefix retained, not usual with stems of more than one syllable. In form, therefore, they are nouns, meaning "the back"; in function they are adverbs meaning "back"; *nthao* is usually found in the expression *sa nthao*, backwards.

(f) *Locative form of locative-class nouns*

Tautological as the construction may seem, several locative-class nouns frequently occur in the locative form with the locative ending *-ng*. Thus we have e.g. the T. forms *felong*, *golong*, *gaeng*, *gareng*, *godimong*, *fatsheng*. Possibly the last four are locatives of class 5 nouns with the prefix *le-* dropped, a common occurrence in this class. But *felong* and *golong* are indisputably locatives of locative-class nouns.

(g) *Miscellaneous notes on individual nouns*

Some notes on points of form, function or meaning of individual nouns have been given in what has gone before, either in the text or in footnotes. The following further notes, for which no suitable place could hitherto be found, should also be taken account of.

(1) While T. *fêlô* and NS. *felô* have a plural form, T. *golô* does not appear in the plural. The two nouns are identical in meaning; but they appear to differ somewhat in the concords they take, as well as on this point (cf. Crisp, *Notes towards a Secoana Grammar*, p. 21).

(2) *moka*="entirety" in such a phrase as *ka moka xa bôna* (all of them, lit. with their entirety); *moka*="then" in such a phrase as *ké moka a bolêla(xo)* (then he spoke, lit. it is then that he spoke). Either the participial or the relative form of the verb may be used after *moka* in this latter sense.

(3) NS. *xole* and *kxole* appear in such phrases as *(k)xole xa*, *(k)xole le*, both meaning "far from." T. *gole* is used purely adverbially. SS. *hole* appears in *hole le*, far from. The stem *-le* appears in the adjectival stems T. *-leele*, *-lelele*; NS. *-telele*, SS. *-lelele*, meaning "long." Cf. also Nguni *kude*.

(4) NS. *hleng* is the locative form of *nthla*, point, with the prefix dropped since the stem, by the addition of the locative ending, is no longer monosyllabic. T. has *ntlheng* from *ntlha*, SS. has *ngeng* from *nğa*, corresponding to the NS. form. But these are not used with locative-class concords.

(5) The etymology of *tletlolo* is obscure. Endemann (*Grammatik*, p. 152) hazards a derivation from *tla+tlola*.

(6) *motlhang* and *mogang* form their locatives irregularly: more regular forms would be *motlheng* and *mogeng*. The form *ntlhang*, occurring as a dialectal variety of *motlhang*, should similarly be *ntlheng*. The form *ntlheng* does occur, but in a different sense and with different usage,

as does the form *ngwageng*. The plural form of *motlhang* is *metlheng*, which, however, is not used with locative-class concords. It may be noted also that the form *mohlang* occurs in NS. and SS. (pl. *mehlang*) but it is not used with locative-class concords.

(7) *moseja* contains the element *mose*, and *mošetsa* contains the element *moše* : and these elements are evidently the original words for "side, bank," -*ja* and -*tsa* being possibly remnants of once fuller and independent demonstrative pronouns.

(8) *maxareng* occurs in NS. next to *makxatheng*, but, like the T. and SS. equivalents *magareng* and *mahareng*, is not used with locative-class concords. The form *makxatheng* is further remarkable for the double incidence of strengthening, medially as well as initially.

(9) *kgakala* and *kxakala* have diminutive forms *kgakajana* or *kgakalanyana* and *kxakajana* respectively.

(10) *kxaofsi* is a class 9 noun with the stem *xaofsi*. The latter, however, like the corresponding forms *gaufi* and *haufi* in T. and SS. respectively, is not used with locative-class concords.

§10. *The penetration of non-locative class nouns into the locative noun-classes*

Relevant examples in the foregoing will have shown, and further illustrations in what is to follow will confirm, that there has been a certain amount of penetration by non-locative class nouns into the locative noun-classes. To be sure, this penetration is only partial, even in the case of the very small number of such words cited : of the words in Table III, only two (*hleng* and *tletlolo* in Table IIIa) invariably take locative-class concords ; the remainder (those in Table IIIb) take such concords only alternatively to non-locative class concords or other constructions. But that such penetration exists, even to a very small extent, is a fact which has to be noted, and, if possible, explained. The theory which may be tentatively hazarded here is that the reason for this phenomenon is to be found in the nature of the noun-classes themselves, coupled with their disintegration as morphological categories. The exiguous difference between nouns of locative meaning and locative adverbs has already been noted, together with the fact that locative-class nouns very readily become adverbial not only in meaning but also in use. In fact, the locative noun-classes have largely lost their individuality as distinct morphological categories, and have become, in the main, miscellaneous collections of words of locative adverbial meaning and use. It is no wonder then that non-locative class nouns of locative adverbial meaning should not only

function as locative adverbs, but should also be confused in function with, and take the concords of, true locative-class nouns, which themselves, as will appear further on, confuse their concords *inter se*.

§11. *The relation between locative class 17 and the infinitive class 15*

The forms of the prefixes of classes 17 and 15 are identical (Table IV); and an examination of the tables of pronouns (Tables V-VII), locative demonstrative copulatives (Table VIII), and concords (Table X) shows that the forms in these tables are identical for these two classes; that their use, except for one or two easily-explained cases, is the same; and that, when a form is not found for one of these two classes, it is also lacking for the other. The discussion, at a later stage, concerning the concordial confusion between the three locative noun-classes will further show that in this respect also classes 17 and 15 are on precisely the same footing. The conclusion seems reasonable that, for Sotho at least, it is not justifiable to regard classes 17 and 15 as being separate and distinct morphologically. In meaning and function also they are, if not identical, closely similar.¹ Indeed, it is on this similarity in meaning and function that the argument for their identity should be primarily based, rather than on perhaps fortuitous morphological resemblances.² The two arguments taken together however are so strong that we feel compelled to group the two classes together into one, which we have designated 17/15.

§12. *Locative-Class Prefixes*

The prefixes of the locative noun-classes 16, 17/15 and 18 are shown in Table IV. It should be observed that, like all other noun-class prefixes except that of class 2a (*bo*), which has high tone, these prefixes have middle tone. They also all have locative force, but are somewhat differentiated in this respect: speaking very generally, it may be said that the prefix *fa* indicates rest at or near, *go* (*xo*, *ho*) motion to or from, *mo* rest in or on. But this differentiation appears only weakly in the nouns themselves, there being, for instance, no ascertainable difference in meaning between T. *fêlô* and *golô*: it is made much more definitely in the case of certain concordial derivatives of these classes, e.g. in the demonstrative pronouns with locative adverbial function, which are discussed further on.

¹ It is interesting to compare with Sotho class 17 and class 15 nouns the English *to London*, *to have*; the Netherlands *te Amsterdam*, (*om*) *te hebben*; the German *zu Berlin*, (*um*) *zu haben*; the French *à Paris*, (*à*) *avoir*; and the Portuguese *a Lisboa*, (*a*) *ter*. Evidently here too the verbal infinitive is regarded as containing a locative idea.

² Nouns of class 11 have (in NS. and SS., but not in T.) changed their prefix from *lo* to *le*; and since *le* is the form of the prefix for class 5 in Sotho, such nouns have adopted class 5 concords.

§13. *Locative-Class Pronouns : (1) Absolute Pronoun*

A study of Table V shows that T., NS. and SS. each have but one form of the locative-class absolute pronoun,¹ and that its form stamps it as belonging to class 17/15. We must now consider the functions and meanings of this word.

(a) It is here that we meet for the first time a phenomenon whose manifestations run right through the locative-class concords and concordial derivatives, though not to the same extent and in the same manner in all cases : we refer to what we shall call the intervalence of these concords and concordial derivatives within the locative classes. For *góna*, *xónó*, *hona* may function as absolute pronouns, not only of class 17/15, but also of classes 16 and 18, and, in fact, for all the nouns in Tables I-III which use a locative-class absolute pronoun at all. The following examples, taken from NS., will illustrate this process :

Feló, xóna, xo lokile. As for the place, it is all right.

Xodimo, xóna, xa di teng. Above—well, they are not there.

O ra' feló fala? Ee, ke ra' xóna. Do you mean that place yonder ?

Yes, that is the place I mean.

Xa a rate xo sepele? O rata xóna, kxoši. Doesn't he want to go ?

Yes, that is what he wants to do, chief.

Feló le batho ba xóna. The place and its people.

Xae xa xeso le dikxomo tša xóna. Our home and the cattle which belong to it.

These examples illustrate the main uses of the absolute pronoun : in the first set, parenthetically or emphatically ; in the second set, objectively ; in the third set, possessively.² It will also be observed that *xóna* here functions equally whether it refers to a noun of class 17/15, class 16, or a prefixless locative-class noun.

¹ Sotho possesses a series of short forms of the Absolute Pronoun, used with the formative *na-*, which may be derived from the long forms by omitting the terminal *-na* (e.g. T. *tšó* from *tšóna*, used in such a phrase as *ga ke na natšó*, I have not got them). In the case of the locative classes, this short form would be *gó*, *xó*, which, however, does not appear to exist. But T. has a form *yó*, and SS. a form *eo*, used in an adverbial copulative construction which will be mentioned below ; and this *yó*, *eo*, is evidently a weakened form of the short absolute pronoun *gó*, *ho*.

² The Absolute Pronoun serves as a Pronominal Possessive Stem, though not in all cases. It does not do so in the case of the first, second and class 1 and 1a third person singular, which have special forms : it does so only alternatively in the case of the first, second and class 2 and 2a third person plural, which have special forms alternative to the ordinary forms : but for all other classes of the third person it does so exclusively. Thus we have e.g. in SS. *manamane a tšona*, their calves ; and, naturally, *manamane a hona*, its (the place's) calves.

Two reasons may be adduced for this curious intervalence. Firstly, there is the general disintegration of the locative noun-classes, already discussed: we may remind readers of the dropping of prefixes (NS. *xae*, *pele*), the interchangeability of prefixes without change of meaning (T. *félô*, *golô*), and the penetration of originally non-locative class nouns into these classes (SS. *mose*, *thoko*). Secondly, there is the absence, in this case of a class 16 and a class 18 absolute pronoun, and in other cases of concords or concordial derivatives in one locative class or another. These two phenomena, taken together, must account for the fact that such concords and concordial derivatives as do exist have acquired intervalence not only within the three original locative noun-classes, but also within the whole present gamut of locative-class nouns which use locative-class concords and concordial derivatives at all.

But not all the nouns listed in Table I-III employ concords or concordial derivatives, or employ them all, or employ them in the same way. Some use none at all, some use more than others, some use different ones from others, some use them differently from others. As regards the locative-class absolute pronoun, for instance, some locative-class nouns (T. *mothang*, *mogang*; NS. *moka*, *hleng*, *thetlolo*, *makxatheng*) employ no absolute pronoun at all, and, *a fortiori*, do not use the locative-class pronoun. Others (T. *moseja*, *thokô*; NS. *mošetsa*, *moše*, *thokô*; SS. *mose*, *thoko*) employ a non-locative class absolute pronoun, and do not use *gôna*, *xôna*, *hona*. The various uses of *gôna*, *xôna*, *hona*, as detailed in this paragraph, are not all employed, or employed in the same way, by the nouns in Tables I-III. No detailed account of the individual peculiarities of each noun in this latter regard can be attempted here: we must content ourselves by warning the reader that not all these nouns behave in exactly the same way in these respects.

(b) The locative-class absolute pronoun, like a number of the locative-class nouns, may also function as an adverb, with the meanings "there" and "then" (and also, more rarely, "here" and "now");¹ and in these senses it appears either alone or in combination with other words and formatives, in various constructions of adverbial, conjunctive or copulative meaning. The following examples, taken from T., will illustrate these various uses.²

¹ It is a common occurrence for the same word in Sotho to have both locative and temporal meanings.

² No attempt at exhaustiveness is made in these examples, which should be regarded merely as isolated though typical instances of the widely-ramified uses of *gôna*. It might be noted here, however, that *teng* (in T., NS. and SS.) and *nthse* (in NS.) may replace *gôna* in most cases.

Ke rata go ya góna. I want to go there.

Ga ke itse kwa a ileng góna. I do not know where he went (lit. there-where he went there).

Le góna o na a bua jalo. Also (lit. and there) he spoke thus.

Ya dira góna ba tsamavang. Thereupon (lit. it happened there) they went away.

E diré góna O fapogang. Then (lit. let it happen there) you turn aside.

Fa O ka tla, ké góna (or góna) nka itumêla. If you will (lit. can) come, then (lit. it is there, or : there) I shall be glad.

Ba utšwitse, ké góna ke ba beditseng. They have stolen, so (lit. it is there) I have beaten them.

A ké gó a O tšogang? Is it (only just) now (lit. there) that you are getting up?

Ba góna. They are there (=here, present, existing).¹

Ga ba góna. They are not there (=here, etc.).

Ke ne ke le góna. I was there (=here, etc.).

Ke ne ke se góna. I was not there (=here, etc.).

Nna yo ke leng góna. I who am there (=here, etc.).

Nna yo ke seng góna. I who am not there (=here, etc.).

(c) Finally, *góna*, *xóna*, *hona* are used as formatives with emphatic force in the case of the emphatic demonstrative pronouns mentioned in §5 and partly listed in Table VII; of the emphatic locative demonstrative copulatives mentioned in §6; and of the emphatic locative demonstrative adverbs and copulatives mentioned in §7. It also appears in this function in the formation of the emphatic enumerative concord and in the phrases

¹ In the examples in this set, *góna* is used as adverbial complement in a series of copulative constructions meaning "to be there, here, present, existing," in most of which some form of a copulative verb plays a part. Such copulative constructions are conjugated like other verbs, though somewhat defectively. The current grammars give fairly full though somewhat confused accounts of such constructions, which however cannot be discussed here. But it should be noted that *góna*, when used in this way, can be replaced either by *teng* (or in NS. by *nthse*) or by *yó* in T., *eo* in SS. These latter are, as has been pointed out, probably weakened forms of the shortened absolute pronoun. They are not used in the present indicative positive, but function in all other cases: *Ga ba yó*; *Ke ne ke le yó*; *Ke ne ke se yó*; *Nna yo ke leyong* (=le+yó+ng); *Nna yo ke seyong* (=se+yó+ng). In the last two cases, the place of the relative ending -ng (after the adverb, not after the verb) should be noted. We may add that *teng*, and sometimes *góna*, may be used as well (*Nna yo ke leyong* (*seyong*) *teng*), showing that the adverbial meaning of *yó* has been lost sight of. The Nguni constructions with *khona* (*kho*) should be compared.

xóna-byale (NS.), *hona-joale* (SS.), immediately, right now.¹ Examples of these uses, from NS., are the following :

Ke dula xóna-fa. I live right here.

Moréna o xóna-mo. The chief is right inside.

Ké xóna-fano. This is the very place here.

Ba ile xóna-mola. They went right inside there.

Dulang xóna-kwa. Sit right there (where you are).

Sepelang le yé xóna-kua. Go to that very place over there.

Xóna-xohle. Absolutely everywhere.

Fetola xóna-byale. Answer immediately.

§14. Locative-Class Pronouns : (2) Demonstrative Pronoun

(a) Forms

The forms of the locative-class Demonstrative Pronouns are similar to those occurring in other noun-classes. The usual three positions are found, indicating nearness, distance, and great distance : and it should be observed that these refer to time as well as to place in these as in other cases.² Within each position, the usual further definitions or precisions are found, these precisions indicating indefiniteness, definiteness, and so on, as will appear in subsequent examples. A point of note regarding the form of these words is that their root syllables *fa*, *go* (*xo*, *ho*), *mo*, unlike the noun-class prefixes, all have high tone, thus distinguishing even the monosyllabic demonstrative pronouns sharply from the class-prefixes.

(b) Incidence

The varying incidence of the forms in Table VI in T., NS. and SS. respectively will have been noted : T. and NS. have full ranges for classes 16 and 18, but only T. has a form for class 17/15, and this form is used under exceptional circumstances only ; while SS., which has a full range of forms for classes 17/15 and 18, has no forms for class 16.

¹ The special meaning of *góna* in the expression *ké góna* in T., and, *mutatis mutandis*, in NS. and SS., should be noted. From the original meaning "there it is" this phrase has developed the meaning "that is right, that's it, there you are."

² Another instance of the ambivalent spatial-temporal function of words of locative meaning in Sotho. In SS., for instance, *hona* means both "this place" (here) and "this time" (now) ; in NS. *motho yola* means both "that man over there" and "the man far back in the past, the man about whom we were speaking a long time ago."

(c) *Intervalence*

Like the locative-class absolute pronoun, the demonstrative pronouns in these classes show intervalence, though not to the same extent. In NS. they are completely intervalent for those nouns which use a locative-class demonstrative pronoun at all ; but in T. and SS. they are only partly intervalent even for such words. So, for instance, T. *go* is used only with *motlang* and *mogang*, SS. *ho* and *hōna* are used only with class 15 nouns, while NS. *fa* or *mo* can be used with all nouns which employ a locative-class demonstrative pronoun.

(d) *Differentiation in meaning of forms*

As with the locative-class noun-prefixes, so the demonstrative pronouns of these classes are differentiated in meaning, the forms with *fa* indicating "at, near," those with *go* (*xo*, *ho*) "to, from," and those with *mo* "in, on." So e.g. in NS. *felô fa* means "at, near, this place," while *felô mo* means "in this place, on this spot." The differentiation thus indicated is not very strong in the case of the demonstrative pronoun without adverbial function ; but it is illustrated by two facts *inter alia* : firstly, that a differentiation of some sort *is* made when two different forms of the demonstrative pronoun are used with the same noun, as in the NS. examples *felô fa*, *felô mo* ; and, secondly, that some nouns use only, or preferably, *fa* or *mo* as the case may be. So for instance, T. *fêlô* tends to use *fa*, *golô* to use *mo* (cf. Crisp, *Notes towards a Secoana Grammar*, p. 21) ; and—again in NS.—*xare* and *teng* use only *mo*.

(e) *Employment of forms*

It should be mentioned here that, like the locative-class absolute pronoun, the demonstrative pronouns of these classes are not employed by all the words in Tables I-III in the same way or to the same extent. No attempt will be made to detail the individual peculiarities of each of these nouns in this respect here : we shall only remark that some nouns in these tables do not employ a demonstrative pronoun at all, others employ a demonstrative pronoun of a non-locative class, while some employ one form of the locative-class demonstrative pronoun and some another. So, for instance, N.S. *moka*, *hleng* and *tletlolo* do not employ any demonstrative pronoun ; *mošetsa*, *moše*, *makxatheng* and *thokô* employ the demonstrative pronouns of their respective original classes ; while in some cases (T. *motlang* and *mogang*) either locative-class or non-locative class demonstrative pronouns are employed (*motlang o/go*, on this day, *mogang o/go*, in this year).

(f) *Adverbial Function of Locative-Class Demonstrative Pronouns*

(i) Like locative-class nouns and absolute pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns of these classes may assume adverbial meaning and perform adverbial functions. So, for instance, the T. forms *fa* (at this place), *fano* (at this very place), *mo* (in this place), *mono* (in this very place), *foo* (at that place),¹ *mouó* (in that place), *fale* (at yonder place), *mole* (in yonder place) have developed the adverbial meanings "here, right here, in here, right in here, there, in there, yonder, inside yonder," and have become functionally adverbs, as may be seen from the following examples:

Nna fa. Sit here.

Ke fano. I am right here.

Tséna mo. Come (Go) in here.

Ke nntse mono. I am sitting right in here.

Re tla éma foo. We shall stop there.

Ga ba tshele mouó. They do not live in there.

Bu agile fale. They live (lit. have built) yonder.

Tsénang mo logageng mole. Go into the cave, in yonder.

(ii) These locative adverbs of demonstrative pronominal origin are frequently used in combination with other locative adverbs;² and in these constructions the second adverb is syntactically an extension of the first.³ The following examples, from NS,⁴ will illustrate this use:

Dulang fa fase. Sit here on the ground.

Fa xare xa batho. Among (lit. here amidst) the people.

Mo xue. In the home (lit. in here at home).

Mo teng xa mmele. Inside (lit. in here inside) the body.

Fa ntlong. About (lit. here at) the house.

Fa motseng. About (lit. here at) the village.

¹ *foo* has also come to be used temporally, meaning "then."

² T. and NS *kwa*, and (more rarely) NS. *kua*, and SS. *koa*, *koou*, are also used in this way, as will be shown in the discussion of the locative demonstrative adverbs.

³ This use of *fa*, *mo*, etc., has been generally misunderstood; and this misunderstanding has resulted in these forms being regarded either as noun-prefixes, or (more commonly) as prepositions. That they are not noun-prefixes is shown by their intonation, which is high (noun-prefixes have middle tone). As to the view that they are prepositions, this is more tenable: but the difficulties of postulating the existence of prepositions in Bantu languages are great; and the view here put forward, that these words are adverbs, removes most of the difficulties involved in their explanation.

⁴ SS. uses neither *fa* nor *mo*, and makes little use of other locative-class demonstrative pronouns in this adverbial way. In T. and NS., however, these uses are very frequent.

Mo ntlong. In (lit. in here in) the house.

Mo motseng. In (lit. in here in) the village.¹

(iii) So strong is the tendency for locative-class demonstrative pronouns to become adverbial in function that there even exists a series of forms which, though morphologically evidently class 17 demonstrative pronouns, have completely lost their demonstrative pronominal character,² and have become exclusively adverbial—or, according to another view, prepositional—in nature. We refer here to the forms T. *go*, NS. *xo*, SS. *ho*, with the meanings “to” or “from,” e.g. in the SS. expressions *ho eena* (to or from him), *ho morena* (to or from the chief). These forms, unlike *fa*, *mo*, etc., are not used as adverbs proper, and are not employed in the constructions illustrated in (ii) above. They are used with pronouns or with nouns (but not with noun-locatives, which are functionally adverbs); and they may be regarded either as adverbial formatives, or, perhaps, as true prepositions. They may be preceded, in T. and NS., by (*ka*) *fa*, (*ka*) *mo*, (*ka*) *kwa*, in such expressions as NS. (*ka*) *fa xo yêna* (somewhere in his direction), (*ka*) *mo xo bôna* (more or less to or from their direction), (*ka*) *kwa xo kxoši* (about towards or from the chief’s direction). In T. it is also used in the phrase *bogolo go*, used in comparisons (*bogolo go ênê*, more than he); and in SS. it may take the place of the possessive concord *hu* in the phrases *holimo ho* (above), *morao ho* (behind), *ntle ho* (outside), *pele ho* (before), etc., for *holim’a* (= *holimo ha*), *mor’a*,³ (= *morao ha*), *ntle ha*, *pel’a* (= *pele ha*), etc., which will be discussed further on.

(iv) The emphatic locative demonstrative pronouns, of which some typical examples have been given in Table VII, have meanings, functions and uses similar to those of the non-emphatic. Their anomalous morphology has been noticed in §5. It is only necessary to give some examples of their use: the examples are from T.:

¹ It should be mentioned that NS. makes considerable use of *ka* in such constructions as these, either alone or in combination with *fa*, *mo*, and *kwa* (*kua*) (see Note 1). *ka* has several meanings, the chief of which are “with, by means of” (as e.g. in *ka thipa*, with a knife) and “about, near,” as in the locative phrases to be illustrated below. It may be regarded either as an adverbial formative or as a preposition. The use of *ka* in its locative sense will appear from the examples *ka fase* (downwards), *ka fa fase* (somewhere downwards), *ka xare* (down the middle), *ka fa xare* (somewhere in the middle), *ka xae* (at home), *ka mo xae* (somewhere in the home), *ka teng* (inside), *ka mo teng* (somewhere inside), *ka ntlong* (about the house), *ka mo ntlong* (somewhere inside the house).

² They have accordingly been omitted from Table VI. The forms *go* and *ho* which appear there are the true demonstrative pronouns which have kept their original function.

³ This should perhaps more properly be written *mora’*.

Féló góna-fa. This very place.

Goló góna-mona. That very place.

Ke góna-fano, rra. I am right here, sir.

Ba ile góna-mole. They have gone right inside yonder.

§15. *Locative Demonstrative Copulatives*

The locative-class demonstrative copulatives follow in their incidence, intervalence, and employment the lines of the demonstrative pronouns from which they are formed, and no further elaboration of these points will be required here. Their meaning is similar to that of demonstrative copulatives generally ("this is, here is, that is, there is" etc.); and, like all locative-class nouns and concordial derivatives, they readily function as adverbs. The following examples will illustrate these various points:

T. *Féló ké fu.* This is (=here is) the place.

Goló ké mouó. That in there is the place.

NS. *Šefa ! (Šemo !)* This is it (i.e. the place), here it is, here we are.

SS. *Ho rata ké hōna.* This is love.

Ké mona. This is the place, here it is.

§16. *Demonstrative Locative Adverbs*

The connection of these words with the locative-class demonstrative pronouns is semantic and functional rather than morphological, although there may be some phonological connection between the element **ku* (inherent in the component *kwa, kua, koa*, which we find in these forms) and the prefix of class 17/15, and although the words in Table IX may be grouped in the usual three demonstrative positions. But, since the locative-class demonstrative pronouns have acquired adverbial meanings and functions, and since the words under discussion here are the demonstrative locative adverbs *par excellence*, the semantic and functional connections between the two are very close. No detailed discussion of the differential meanings of the words in Table IX will be attempted here: but, as the most striking example of the functional and semantic connection between these words and the locative-class demonstrative pronouns of adverbial meaning and function, the uses of *kwa* may be illustrated here from T.:

Leba kwa. Look there (cf. *leba fa, mo*, look here).

Kwa godimo, moragó, gae, gare, ntlé, pele, teng, tlhatshe, moseja, kgakala, thokó. There above, behind, at home, in the middle, outside, in front, inside, below, on the bank, far away, at the side (cf. the use of *fa* and/or *mo* with many of these stems),

Kwa ntlong, masimong, thabeng. There in the house, in the fields, on the hill (cf. the use of *fa* and/or *mo* with such noun-locatives).

Kwa go bôna. To or from them (cf. *mo go bôna*).

Tsamaya kwa O ratang gôna. Go where you like.¹

The uses of the adverbial demonstrative copulative, of the emphatic locative demonstrative adverb, and of the emphatic adverbial demonstrative copulative, mentioned in §7, may be illustrated by the following T. examples :

Ké kwa. It is there (cf. *ké fa, mo*).

Ké kwale. It is yonder (cf. *ké fale, mole*).

Gôna-kwa. Right there (cf. *gôna-fa, gôna-mo*).

Gôna-koo. Right over there (cf. *gôna-foo, gôna-mouó*).

Ké gôna-kwa. It is right there (cf. *ké gôna-fa mo*).

Ké gôna-kwale. It is right yonder (cf. *ké gôna-fale mole*).

§16. Locative-Class Concorde : (1) Subjectival Verb-Concord

(a) A study of Table Xa shows that Sotho has only class 17/15 forms of the locative-class subjectival verb-concord. These forms again show intervalence and are used by most of the locative-class nouns. A few examples of their ordinary use, from N.S., are given here :

Feló fa xo lokile. This place is all right.

Feló fao xa tsebya ké bohle. That place was known by all.

Xodimo xo be xo tonya. Up above it was cold.

Xo lwa xa xo thuse. Fighting does not help.

(b) One use of the locative-class subjectival verb-concord needs special mention, however : we refer to its employment impersonally, as shown in the following examples from SS.

Ho lokile. It is all right.

Ho motho. There is someone (lit. there (is) a person).

Ha ho thuse. It is no good (lit. it does not help).

Ha ho motho. There is nobody (lit. not there (is) a person).

Ho no ho le morena. There was a chief.

Ho no ho se morena. There was no chief.

¹ In this last example, *kwa* is used to introduce a locative adverbial relative clause, in the same way as the locative-class demonstrative pronouns *fa* and *mo*, which will be discussed further on.

Moo ho leng motho. There where there is someone.
Moo ho seng motho. There where there is nobody.
Ho na le linku. There are (lit. there is with) sheep.
Ha ho n'e (=na le) linku. There are no sheep.
Ha tla eena. He came (lit. there came he).
Ha tsamauo. People went (lit. there was gone).

§17. *Locative-Class Concords : (2) Objectival Verb-Concord*

Table Xb shows that Sotho has only class 17/15 forms of the locative-class objectival verb-concord. Their use is shown in the following examples from T. :

Fêlô fa ga ke go rate. I do not like this place.
Golô mo ga O go itse. You don't know this place.
Gae ga gagwê ke a go bôna. As for his home, I see it.

§18. *Locative-Class Concords : (3) Adjectival Concord*

(a) Table Xc(i) shows that Sotho possesses but one (a class 17/15) form of the locative-class simple adjectival concord, and Table Xc(ii) shows that T. and NS. have each but two forms of the locative-class compound adjectival concord, while SS. has but one form. The use of these forms must now be shown.

(b) The anomalous nature of the forms *fa go*, *mo go* (*fa xo*, *mo xo*) has already been remarked upon in the lines preceding Table Xc. It may be further pointed out that, while these forms show intervalence for the locative-class nouns which employ a locative-class adjectival concord, the same distinction is made between them as exists between the locative-class demonstrative pronouns, *fa go* referring to place at, *mo go* indicating place in. The SS. form *ho ho* is morphologically regular; but it is not, like the T. and NS. forms, intervalent. The following examples will illustrate the use of these forms :

Simple Adjectival Concord

T. *Fêlô (Golô) gongwe.* Some place.
Fêlô (Golô) go le gongwe. One place.
Fêlô (Golô) gongwe le gongwe. Any place.
Gongwe. Somewhere.
Go le gongwe. In one spot.
Gongwe le gongwe. Anywhere.¹

¹ *gongwe* in the last three examples has evolved from a locative-class adjective into a locative adverb.

Compound Adjectival Concord

- T. *Fêlô fa (Golô mo) gogolo.* A big place.
Go ruta mo gogolo. Great love.
Gae mo gogolo. A large home.
Fêlô fa (Golô mo) gongwe. Some, a certain, another place.
Go lwa fa/mo gongwe. Some, a certain, another fight.
Gae fa/mo gongwe. Some, a certain, another home.

- SS. *Ho rata ho hoholo.* Great love.
Ho loantša ho hong. Some, a certain, another fight.

§19. *Locative-Class Concords : (4) Enumerative Concord*

A study of Table Xd shows that Sotho possesses only one form of the locative-class enumerative concord, and that this form belongs to class 17/15. The morphological function of this concord has already been touched upon in the note to Table Xd. It is intervalent for the locative-class nouns which use it. The following examples from T. will illustrate its use :

- Fêlô (Golô) gofe ?* Which place ?
Fêlô (Golô) gosele. A different place.
*Gosele.*¹ Somewhere else.
Fêlô (Golô) gotlhe. The whole place.
*Gotlhe, gotlhe fêla.*² Everywhere.
Ga go na fêlô (golô) gopê. There isn't any place.
*Gopê.*³ Nowhere.
Ka gopê. Not at all.
Fêlô (Golô) gosi, or, go le gosi. The place alone.
*Gôna-gotlhe.*⁴ Just everywhere you please.

§20. *Locative-Class Concords : (5) Relative Concord*

(a) Table Xe shows that the range of locative-class forms of the relative concord is fairly full. But this fullness is not as great as it seems: *go* is used only in the case of two words in T., and SS. *ho, hoo* are used only for class 15 words.

(b) The identity of these forms with the common forms of the locative-class demonstrative pronoun has already been remarked upon in the notes to Table Xe.

¹, ², ³, and ⁴. These words have evolved from locative-class enumeratives into locative adverbs.

(c) The locative-class relative concords *fa* and *mo* are intervalent. for those locative-class nouns which employ a locative-class relative concord at all. Thus we have, e.g. in T. *fêlô fa (golô mo) ke agileng teng*, the place where I live ; *godimo mo O lebang gôna*, up above where you are looking ; *go ruta fa ke buang kaga gôna*, the teaching about which I speak ; *gae mo ba-ga-etšho ba agileng teng*, the home where my people live ; *kgakala mo go se nang motho*, far away where there is nobody. *go*, however, is found only with *motlhang* and *mogang*, e.g. *motlhang go ba fitlhileng-teng*, on the day when they arrived there ; *mogang go ba simolotseng go tsamaya*, in the year when they began to travel.

(d) The same distinction is made here between *fa* and *mo* as in the case of these words functioning as demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *fêlô fa ke agileng gôna*, the place at which I live ; *fêlô mo ke dulang gôna*, the place in which I am sitting down.

(e) In T., and somewhat more rarely in NS., *kwa* is used in the same way as *fa* and *mo* to introduce locative adverbial relative clauses, e.g. T. *fêlô kwa a ileng gôna*, the place to which he has gone.

(f) *kwa* and the locative-class relative concords *fa* and *mo(o)* are however also used in another way (corresponding more or less to the impersonal use of the locative-class adjectival concord) as relative adverbs without reference to any preceding noun, introducing locative adverbial relative clauses which have no antecedent. The following examples will illustrate these uses. It may be added that *kwa*, *fa*, *mo* in these cases may be preceded by *ka*, as will also appear :

T. *Ga ke itse kwa a ileng teng*. I do not know where he has gone.
A nka botsa ka kwa a agileng ka teng? May I ask whereabouts he lives ?

Kwa morakeng kwa dikgomo di leng teng. At the cattlepost, where the cattle are.

NS. *Mo batho ba axišanaxo nthse*. Where people live together.

Dira ka mo O rataxo. Do as you please.

Mo lefaseng mo xo naxo le dithšaba tša mehuta-huta. In a country where there are many different peoples.

SS. *Moo malimo a leng teng*. Where the cannibals are.

Ha ke tsebe ka moo a ileng ka teng. I do not know whereabouts he went.

Lefatšeng moo ho se nang lifate. In a country where there are no trees.

§21. *Locative-Class Concords : (6) Possessive Concord*

(a) Table Xf shows that Sotho possesses only one form for the locative-class possessive concord, and that it belongs to class 17/15. Like other concords, it is intervalent for those locative-class nouns which employ a locative-class possessive concord.

(b) All the words in Tables I-III, except those in Table Ic and *mothlang* and *mogang* in Table IIIb, may employ this concord. Those in Tables Ia and IIIa, except *holimo* and *morao*, employ it exclusively : those in Table II employ it exclusively in T. and SS., and, together with the SS. words in Table Ia, alternatively to another locative-class concord in SS. : those in Tables Ib and IIb employ it either alternatively to a non-locative class concord (*moseja*, *mošetsa*, *moše*, *mose*, *makxatheng*, *thokó*) or alternatively to *le*, as will appear from the following table of examples :

T. *Fêlô (Golô) ga me.* My place.

Gae ga me. My home.

Godimo, moragô, gare, ntlê, pele, teng, tlhatshe, kgakala, thokó ga ntlo. On top of, behind, inside, outside, in front of, inside, underneath the house.

Moseja ga/wa noka. The bank of the river.

Thokó ya thaba. The side of the hill.

NS. *Felô xa ka.* My place.

Xae xa ka. My home.

Xodimo, moraxô, xole, xare, ntlê, pele, teng, tlase, hleng, tletlolo, makxatheng, kxakala, kxaofsi, kxole, thokó xa ntlo. On top of, behind, far from, inside, outside, in front of, inside, underneath, beside, sideways above, inside, outside, near, far from, beside the house.

Ka moka xa bôna. All of them

Xole le batho. Far from the people.

Mošetsa (moše) xa/wa noka. The bank of the river.

Makxatheng a batho. Amidst the people.

Kxakala, kxaofsi, kxole le motse. Outside, near, far from the village.

Thokó ya Borwa. Northwards.

SS. *Hae ha habo.* His home.

Holimo ha/ho, morao ha/ho, hare ha/ho, ntle ha/ho, pele ha/ho, teng ha/ho, tlase ha/ho, thoko ha/ho. Above, behind, amidst, outside, before, inside, underneath, beside.

Hole le motse Far from the village.

Mose oa/ho noka. The (opposite) bank of the river.

(c) The SS. forms *holimo ha*, *morao ha*, *hare ha*, *pele ha*, *tlase ha* are contracted to *holim'a*, *mor'a*, *har'a*, *pel'a*, *tlas'a*. *ho* as used in these cases is probably identical with the class 17/15 demonstrative pronoun used adverbially.

BOOK REVIEWS

Religion and Medicine of the Gã People, by M. J. Field. 214 pp. illus.
Oxford Univ. Press (Humphrey Milford), 1937, 17/6 net.

This study was approved as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the University of London. The author, on the staff of Achimota College, carried out her research over a considerable period of time and shews that she has got to know her people well. The book is divided into three sections, part I being "Public Worship," part II "The Principles and Practice of Medicine and Magic," and part III "Ceremonies of Everyday Life." The first part, crammed full of detail, proves difficult for the ordinary reader to digest. It seems that in many parts it might with profit have been considerably condensed instead of being treated in the seven different locality divisions; the reading becomes monotonous. Nevertheless the author has collected an immense amount of first-hand information which it is valuable to have recorded.

The second part is by far the best section of the book. The chapter dealing with the human personality is most interesting and proves that, though they are linguistically so distinct, the West Coast "Negroes" have a basic connection with the Bantu. The Gã conception of the personality is three-fold, *susuma*, *kla* and *gbomoto*, the three terms corresponding almost exactly to the three-fold conception of the Central Bantu, where (in Lamba) we have *umwine* (the person), *umupashi* (the spirit which may be re-incarnated) and *umwili* (the body). The functions of each correspond closely. So too does the part played by *gbesi*, which corresponds to the Lamba *ichiwanda* (accompanying demon). The method of spirit possession, on becoming a *woyo* is strikingly similar to that of a Bantu medium or diviner, the melancholia and sickness preceding the full initiation. Parallels to this may be found as far South in Africa as among the Zulu and Xhosa, and were well recorded by Callaway many years ago. The chapter on witchcraft is interesting but seems lacking in much information one would seek. The attributing of more potent witch medicine to a neighbour than to one's own tribe, is also a common failing of the Bantu—the pot calls the kettle black!

The third section is good as far as it goes, but here one feels that the author has left untouched many ceremonies that the people must perform.

—there is nothing said of courtship and marriage, or of war rites or hunting ceremonies (apart from fishing). Possibly the author considered some of these subjects beyond the scope of her book.

In her preface the writer makes a remarkable statement. She writes: "There are, I believe, earlier accounts of the manners and customs of the Gã, notably one by Ellis. I have deliberately refrained from reading any of these as I wished to approach the people themselves unhampered by pre-conceived ideas about them." She might have had some excuse for this attitude at the commencement of her study (though I would not even concede that), but to go to the length of presenting a Doctor's thesis and publishing such without a study of the relevant literature is definitely unscientific and it is strange that her examiners should have permitted that to pass. Surely the author's confession is one of lack of trust in her own critical balance. The book has no bibliography, though acknowledgment of help is made to several anthropologists. Apart from this serious criticism, the book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of West African religious belief and practice.

C.M.D.

Primitive Intelligence and Environment, by S. D. Porteus, pp. 325. New York, The Macmillan Company, \$3.00, 1937.

This is a comparative study by a well-known psychologist from Honolulu, embodying the results of his researches among the Kalahari Bushmen in 1934, and portions of the material collected from some tribes of Australian aborigines in 1929. Dr. Porteus has also included certain data concerning Asiatic primitives and some of the varied races to be found in Honolulu, as well as some brief figures from one or two Bantu African tribes. The work upon the Australian aborigines was reported upon in more detail in his book *The Psychology of a Primitive People*, and the present publication is naturally more fully devoted to his travels and tests among the Bushmen.

The book is extremely well written and is readable with intense interest by the layman as well as the psychologist. In order to picture the background and environment of the people, Dr. Porteus has devoted large sections to descriptive accounts of his travels to reach the Bushmen and of his adventures and contacts with them. These chapters are written in a breezy and most interesting style. In fact the book might have been more appropriately entitled "A Psychologist's travels in search of primitive intelligence."

The first chapters deal with a general survey of the North-west and Central Australian aborigines; then comes a history of the Bushmen, a description of their environment in the Kalahari, followed by travels in the Southern section. This last includes a description of Bushmen life and customs, followed by a chapter devoted to the Masarwa. After this come four good descriptive chapters "Journey to Ngamiland," "Thamalake Voyage," "The Okovango Marshes" and "Hunters' Road—Mababe."

It is after these travel chapters at page 192 that the author discusses the findings of his observations, comparing the environments of Aborigine and Bushman and discussing their effects upon the varying mode of life, customs and racial differences in mentality. The various tests he employed are explained and defended or criticised, a whole chapter being devoted to the Aboriginal maze test performance.

In summing up his tests and observations Dr. Porteus concluded: "As far as I can see, the Bushmen, in point of achievement may be considered to have excelled the Native Australians on two counts only. As regards resistance to encroachment on their domain, the South African race offered a more determined and courageous, though in the long run a no more successful resistance to the White invaders. . . . The other high point reached by the South African aborigines was in the development of artistic skill as shown by the paintings and rock engravings which are found scattered throughout their country. . . . As regards specific mental tests, the Central Australians made quite remarkable records in the Maze test, which can be considered in part a measure of the planning and foresight that would be valuable in social adaptations. . . . The general performance of the Australians in the Maze is about eleven years, while that of the Bushmen is between seven and eight years or almost four years lower."

C.M.D.

Children of the Veld, Bantu Vignettes, by R. H. W. Shepherd, M.A. 194 pp. illus. James Clarke & Co., London, 1937, 6/-.

In this publication are gathered together many of the sketches of South African Native life, which featured in the *South African Outlook* under the title of "Bantu Vignettes." The present publication also includes a number of hitherto unpublished sketches. Some unique and striking photographs add to the attractiveness of the book. Mr. Shepherd has a definite gift for this type of writing and *Children of the Veld* will, we feel sure, rank among the most forceful of missionary books of this decade.

A great variety of topics is covered and the author's intimacy with Native life and thought and his research into the history, missionary and tribal, of Tembuland, are amply revealed in this work. It is a great vindication of missionary effort. Several of the sketches are touching in the extreme, some are pathetic, others bubbling over with fun ; and throughout there is a dignity worthy of the author's aim. We warmly commend this book to our readers.

C.M.D.

THE COLOURED MAN SPEAKING FOR HIMSELF.

Brown South Africa, by C. Ziervogel (Maskew Miller, 1937, 95 pp.)

Mr. Ziervogel's little volume consists of eight papers and essays, read on various occasions or published in "The Sun" or "The Liberator." He has now issued them in permanent form, "by reason," as he says, "of the crying need for a book about the Coloured People by a Coloured Man."

That there is indeed a crying need for such books, is only too true. Neither our Coloured nor our Native peoples are as yet sufficiently vocal; and their chances of making themselves heard have been sadly diminished by the recent legislation, which compels them to choose Europeans as their representatives in Parliament.

In the first three papers, Mr. Ziervogel sketches briefly the origins of the Coloured Folk. In the remaining essays he deals with their economic, political and educational history and pleads eloquently for some improvement in their unhappy condition.

The reader will naturally want Mr. Ziervogel's own words. Let him speak for himself: "The Coloured people," he says (p. 35), came into being from the time of European settlement in South Africa; they exist in the very midst, and they are a part of the economic structure of South Africa. From time to time speeches are made by leading statesmen of the country, assuring them that they have not been forgotten; but they search in vain for any sign of real appreciation of their problem. Most of the avenues of employment formerly open on the Railways and Harbours Services, in other Government departments (in education and in the Post Office there are still some exceptions) are now definitely closed to the Coloured man. He can hardly hope to be promoted to a position of authority even over his own people, and under the present discriminatory policy he can never hope to be entrusted with authority over even the lowest classes of Whites.

"In the past Coloured men attained the rank of guard, porter or ganger on the permanent way. (The reviewer remembers a Coloured station-master). Now it is scarcely possible to obtain the position of a labourer, and the wages range from 3s. to 3s. 6d. a day". "Further," he continues, (p. 39), "they are between two millstones, seriously handicapped in the economic and in the industrial system, with the Europeans on top and the Natives below."

"There is absolutely no doubt that the Coloured man has been ousted from his position in the economic system because of colour prejudice. The various colour bars which have led to misguided prejudices are responsible for a great deal of the economic struggle in which the Coloured man finds himself to-day."

The reviewer is reminded of a recent leader in the *Johannesburg Star* (March 9, 1938), dealing with the Coloured Labour Exchange, which exists for the benefit of the 22,000 Coloured people on the Rand. "A quarter of these," says the writer, "are said to be unemployed: but only 613 went to the Exchange last month to register. Nobody, they say, wants them; and they see no purpose in registering at a labour exchange which no employer ever visits. Faith in the social service machine designed for their help is fast disappearing. How long will faith in themselves and in their own future as a community survive?"

To return to Mr. Ziervogel: He insists that the colour bar legislation must go. "It must be definitely laid down and proclaimed that wages for the white and the non-white should be the same." (p. 43).

"The great mass of the non-white races," he declares, "is being forced to the conclusion that there is against them such a spirit of hatred and repulsion, such a spirit of fear, that there is to be no place for them in the South African sunshine, no hope that they will ever emerge into that life of freedom and opportunity which they see around them enjoyed by the whites."

"Among the educated leaders of these non-white races the feeling is extraordinarily bitter. There are men who have been mediators between the European race and their own. who are ready to preach patience to their people, a long-suffering patience; but those men are being stunned by a sustained and determined policy of repression. They are being forced into becoming anti-white agitators; and, so far from leading the people into ways of peace, they may very soon be found leading them into ways of strife."

If this unfortunate state of affairs should ever arise, we Europeans will surely be largely to blame! A final citation: "The white races must keep their emotional and racial prejudices under control, if they are anxious to find a solution of our many problems. Europeans may for many purposes remain an exclusive section of the nation; but there must be, over and above that white exclusiveness, a larger national spirit which will consider the welfare of the whole."

A sad little book,—depressing to read; but emphatically a book to ponder over and to pass on to others.

L. F.

Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari. (Papers reprinted from *Bantu Studies*, Vol. X, No. 4, and Vol. XI, No. 3, together with some additional material). Contributors: D. F. Bleek, M. G. Breyer-Brandwijk, R. A. Dart, C. M. Doke, M. R. Drennan, P. R. Kirby, I. D. MacCrone, J. F. Maingard, and L. F. Maingard. Pp. vii, 283; 109 plates. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1937. Price, 18s.

The studies contained in this volume are based upon investigations made in the South-Western Kalahari in July 1936, and in Johannesburg from September 1936 to January 1937, upon the party of /auni and ≠khomani Bushmen gathered together by Mr. Donald Bain for the Empire Exhibition. The University of the Witwatersrand financed both the original expedition and the publication of the results, and by so doing has earned the gratitude of everybody interested in the Bushmen, whether as scientist or as humanitarian.

Prof. Dart, Prof. Drennan, and Dr. J. F. Maingard deal with the physical anthropology and other biological aspects of the people. Prof. Dart contributes what is probably the most thorough analysis yet made of Bushmen physical characters, and since he has been at pains throughout to make comparisons with the relevant characters of other South African peoples his article should rank as a very important addition to this field of anthropological study. We can only refer in passing to the wealth of detailed measurement and description it contains, and must content ourselves with a few general observations. Prof. Dart's final conclusion throws unexpected light upon the early racial history of South Africa. He finds that this group of Bushmen is "very mixed anatomically," being made up basically of Bush and Boskop types intimately intermingled, with traces of Hamitic, Mongolian, Armenoid and, to a minimal extent only, Negro admixture. From this he deduces (p. 134)

that "Mediterranean (Hamitic), Armenoid and Mongolian peoples were hybridising with the Bush-Boskop population of Southern Africa *before it was invaded by the Negro*" (his italics). One is inclined, however, to wonder at the correctness of a scientific procedure which Prof. Dart himself describes as follows (p. 122):

"Our investigation was therefore directed not towards the archaic and sterile issue of separating 'Hottentots' from 'Bushmen,' but towards discovering the racial constitution of this Bushmen group, isolating there the Bush physical type and, where present, all other known living types—such as the Negro, the Brown (or Mediterranean), the Armenoid and the Mongolian types—and, *by a process of exclusion* (my italics), arriving at the pre-Bush or Boskop physical type. From the *mélange* of living individuals the face and form of the pre-Bush population of Southern Africa thus emerged gradually as it were from a palimpsest."

If this group is so heterogeneous as to display characteristics of at least four if not five different physical types, it would surely have been advisable to pay much greater attention to the possibility of individual variation, particularly in view of the amount of inbreeding that has taken place, rather than to insist on regarding all immediately non-identifiable characteristics as being *ipso facto* Boskop. Considering also that the total number of people investigated was only 77, of whom 28 were children, Prof. Dart's interpretation of his histograms is far from convincing. Superficially, there appears to be no reason why, given a statistically adequate range of samples, the histograms should not have approximated still more closely to a normal curve of distribution than they seem to do even now, and why what Prof. Dart regards as separate physical types are not merely variations of one common type. Nor does there seem to be any justification for including children of various ages and adults on the same histogram, although in the body of the text these are separately discussed.

Prof. Drennan has a short note on finger mutilation, present in only six cases among the people of this group. His information (p. 189) that the operation "was only performed on very young children and then only when the child was suffering from some serious illness" confirms the generally accepted explanation. But this attempt to link up the hand on which it was done (right for men, and left for women) with Bushmen ideas of sexuality in general is, although ingenious, merely speculative, and would have benefited from fuller discussion.

The late Dr. John Maingard's "Notes on Health and Disease" is an outstanding piece of work, covering fairly new ground as far as the

Bushmen are concerned. Apart from describing the actual physical condition of the people, their notions of disease, and various forms of mutilation practised by them, he discusses at some length the manner in which their health has been affected through contacts with other peoples, both Europeans and Coloured. He shows that "the displacement of the Bushmen from their ancestral water-holes and hunting-grounds by invading peoples led to introduction of new diseases, a change in diet, and consequent malnutrition and greater susceptibility to disease. In view of recent proposals to set aside special Reserves for the Bushmen, or to attempt in some other way to ameliorate their condition, this article is very timely. We need far more work of the same kind than has yet been done in South Africa; and the recent death of this talented young worker is a loss which we can ill afford.

The languages of these Bushmen have been studied by several well-known experts. Prof. Doke contributes a paper on the phonetics of *≠khomani*, Miss Bleek grammatical notes, texts and a vocabulary of */auni*, and Prof. L. F. Maingard a study of the morphology and other characteristics of *≠khomani*. Between them they have undoubtedly contributed much to our knowledge of the Bushman languages, although a fair appraisal of their material must be left to some one better qualified than I am to judge of its value. Considering how little authentic material of this kind is available, it may seem ungenerous to suggest that another important field of study was left unexplored. But, in view of the fact that many of these Bushmen spoke Afrikaans fairly well, it is a pity that some information was not also obtained on the kind of Afrikaans they used, and on the influence of Afrikaans on their Native vocabulary. The "corruption" of Native languages as a result of contact with peoples speaking either English or Afrikaans is a phenomenon of which all fieldworkers in South Africa are aware, and it is surely time that more attention was given to it by our professional linguists.

In the cultural field, Prof. Kirby contributes one of his magnificently thorough studies of music, both instrumental and vocal, incidentally giving us some examples of the Afrikaans songs known to the people; Prof. Doke has a fascinating account of their "games, plays and dances"; Prof. MacCrone and Dr. Breyer-Brandwijk provide short notes on "The *Tsamma* (melon) and its uses" and on arrow poison respectively; and Prof. Maingard describes the weapons, particularly the bow and the arrow. Prof. Dart sets forth and analyses the "hut distribution, genealogy and homogeneity" of the people, giving us for the first time, as far as the Bushmen are concerned, the sort of concrete data upon which all studies of social organisation should be based. The material itself is

very valuable; but his discussion of it lacks clarity, while his use of such terms as "exogamic group," "cross marriage," "cousin," "uncle" and "aunt" is so vague as to render this part of his paper almost incomprehensible unless one carefully checks through the material to find out what he wishes to imply. It would have been far more satisfactory if the genealogical and other data had been handed over to a trained social anthropologist for analysis and discussion.

In view of the substantial additions made by this book to our knowledge of the Bushmen, it is perhaps ungenerous to complain that there are no papers dealing specifically with the social and political organisation of the people (apart from Prof. Dart's article to which reference has just been made), their mode of life generally, their legal system, and their ritual beliefs and practices. A clear account of their distribution and grouping before they were brought together into one group by Mr. Bain should surely also have preceded all the other papers. Prof. Maingard refers in his Introduction to some of these omissions, and indicates that more material was collected than has actually been written up and published. We trust that this additional material will also be soon made available, particularly on the topics just mentioned, since these are aspects of Bushman life about which accurate information is far more urgently needed than about physical characters and language.

I. SCHAPERA.

SOME RECENT ZULU PUBLICATIONS.

(1) *uThulasizwe*, by J. Stuart (Longman's, Green & Co., London, 1937, 1/9):

This is a reprint in the new Zulu Orthography of one of the well-known series of books prepared by Mr. Stuart and used for so long in Zulu schools. Although Captain Stuart does not agree with the conjunctive writing of the new orthography, he has consented to this issue in order to comply with the requirements of the Natal Education Department. It might be noted that elisions (with apostrophes) should have been retained in the *izibongo*.

(2) *uMpande*, by R. R. R. Dhlomo (Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, pp. 142, 1938, 2/6). Dhlomo is to be congratulated on adding this volume to his historical studies of Dingane and Shaka. He writes well, and his chapters provide interesting reading. The book is well produced in a fairly large type.

(3) *uMohlomi*, by N. S. Luthango (Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, pp. 192, 1938, 2/6). It was a Sotho, Mofolo, who in Sotho wrote the classic work on the Zulu Shaka; now the tables are turned and a Zulu has written in Zulu the first real study of the great Sotho Mohlomi. This work is very welcome and deserves translation into Sotho for there should be great interest in this theme in Basutoland. The work is well printed in large type, has several illustrations and a map, the last a welcome innovation in Zulu books.

(4) *Exomdabu wezizwe zabansundu*, by A. I. Molefe and T. Z. Masondo, edited by F. Suter (Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, pp. 191, 1938, 3/6). This is a history of the South African Native peoples, their contacts one with another and their contacts with the Europeans. After dealing with the Bantu tribes and their important figures and movements, Dutch, English, Bushmen, Hottentots, Coloureds and Indians are all treated. The authors go on to deal with the history of the provinces, the Boer War, the Union of South Africa, various activities such as mining, farming, mission work, and a consideration of the present condition of the Natives. The book gives a refreshing new viewpoint on all these historical matters and provides most useful material for class work in Native Schools. It is prescribed for Standards 4, 5 and 6 in Natal Native Schools.

(5) *uNkosi bomvu*, by P. A. Stuart (Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, pp. 132, illus. 1938, 3/-). This is a translation of Mr. Stuart's novel of Zulu life. S. Nyongwana and A. C. Maseko carried out the translation. In his introduction the author explains that his aim is to set an example of imaginative literature, historical fiction, before Zulu writers, and we are sure he has achieved a splendid success in what he has produced. The story is stirring and redolent of Native life and custom of the past days. The translation has been very well done; the Zulu is choice and rich in language and idiom—a pattern of the best Zulu style.

Messrs. Shuter and Shooter have produced the book well with good large print and arresting illustrations by A. H. Mathieson. The work is however marred by careless proof-reading, there being too many cases of misspelt words and transposed letters.

We trust Zulu writers will study this book carefully: it is a plain guide for the future of Zulu literature.

C.M.D.

NOTES

A Grammar of Lundu, by A. Bruens, Cyclo-styled, 51 pp. quarto.

Father Bruens of the Catholic Mission in the Cameroons has prepared an interesting little Grammar of what he claims to be the most North-Western Bantu language. Lundu belongs to the same group as Duala and has been probably considerably influenced by the Sudanic language of the Efik, their nearest neighbours.

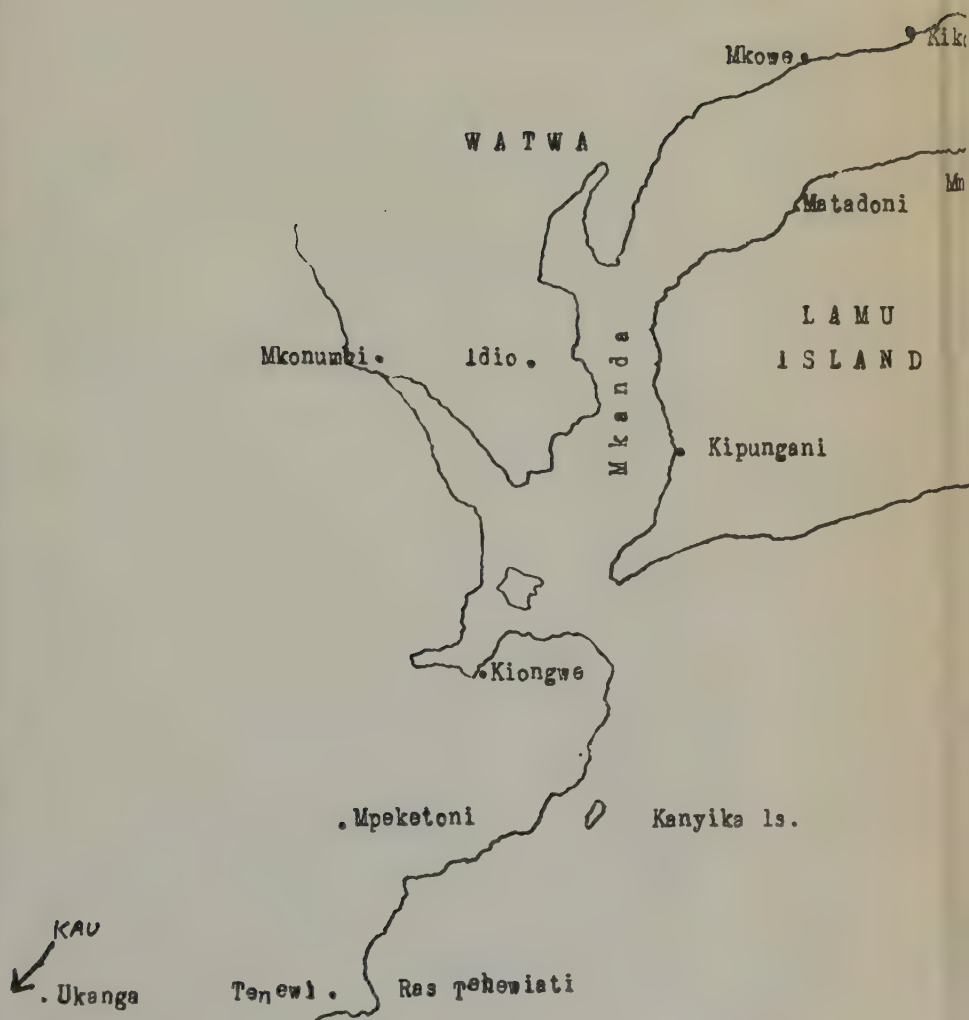
Copies of this Grammar may be obtained from the Rev. A. Bruens, Catholic Mission, Njinicon, P.O. Bamenda, British Cameroons, W. Africa, at 2/- each, including postage.

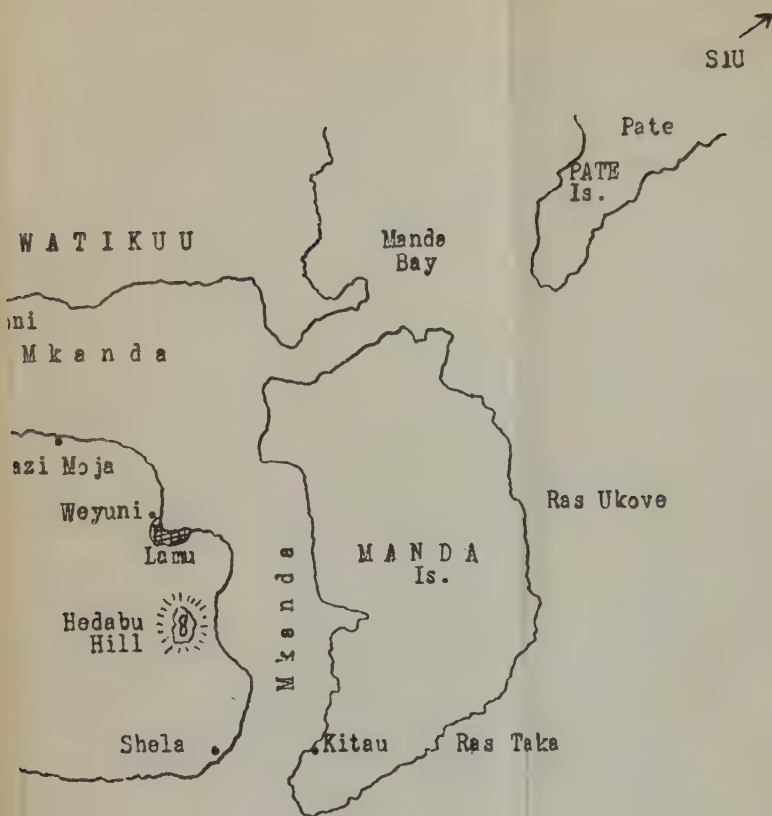
The Spelling of Names of Bantu Languages and Tribes in English.

Two misprints occurred in the above article appearing in the last number of *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 4, December, 1937. On p. 375 Kikiyu should read Kikuyu, and Makau should read Makua.

The editors regret that these errors were passed in the proof reading.

Hidio (Hindi)





INDIAN OCEAN

Sketch Map of
 LAMU ISLAND and environs
 (from material supplied by the
 Government of Kenya, supplement)

1937

THE MARRIAGE LAWS OF THE RONGA TRIBE

(SPECIALLY THE CLANS OF THE MAPUTO DISTRICT,
SOUTH OF THE ESPIRITO SANTO, PORTUGUESE EAST
AFRICA)

By ANDRÉ CLERC

Translated from the French by Hélène Borel

INTRODUCTION

A study of the principles of the old system of Native marriage, a description of its evolution under the influence of European civilization, and, finally, an account of the proposals which the different colonial governments have put forward in order to solve the problem of the family would certainly be as interesting as it would be useful.

But so comprehensive a work could only be written by a person of wide experience, who had access to innumerable documents gathered in the course of patient and costly investigations. Personally, I have neither the talent nor the experience necessary for such a task. My aim is not so high. I shall modestly limit myself to the functioning of the rules of marriage in one African tribe.

The work of many writers has introduced me to Bantu customs, but it is to the classic study of H. A. Junod : *The Life of a South African Tribe*, that I owe a very special debt. It was the thorough study of certain chapters of that work which opened for me new avenues of investigation, and the reader would do well to compare the different sections of this article with Vol. I, Part II, chaps. 1 and 2 of the above mentioned book.¹

I owe much also to the excellent article which A. A. Jacques published in *Bantu Studies* on the "Terms of Kinship and Corresponding Patterns of Behaviour among the Thonga," kindred peoples of the Rongas.

However, practically the whole of the information contained in this study is the fruit of personal inquiries addressed directly to the Chief Tembe and his councillors, to Zwakadi, an Induna of Bela Vista District, to the Rev. O. Ndimene at Catembe, to J. D. Mathendja and E. Lombene of Nwapulane.

My questions were very much the same everywhere. This allowed me to abridge or leave out a good deal. As I got my material from

¹ Second Edition 1929.

Rongas between the ages of forty and eighty, some educated in the European sense of the word, while others were hostile to White influence, I hope not to have been misled too often.

Here are the definitions of a few words frequently used in this study :

Lobolo : Capital consisting of cattle, gold sovereigns, or bank notes, which, on the occasion of a marriage, is handed over to the family of the bride by the family of the bridegroom or by the bridegroom himself.

Bukongwan : Relationships by marriage having their origin and their *raison d'être* in the *lobolo* transaction. These relationships include some of those usually recognised by Europeans, but also those with a great number of individuals who, according to European law, have no kinship whatsoever with the married couple.

Mukongwan : an individual included among the *bukongwan* relations.

Bakongwan : plural of *Mukongwan*.

Muti : In this study the word *Muti* (kraal) stands for a group of human beings made up of a married man, with his wife or his wives, and their children. The term is also used to mean the home, the dwelling-place of this group. The possessions, credit, or debts of the *Muti* are those which do not belong to the *tiyindlu* (houses).

Yindlu : The word *Yindlu* (house) as distinct from *muti* stands for the group formed by a married woman and her children, her home, her dwelling place (generally a hut). The possessions, credit or debts of the *Yindlu* have been acquired or come into being on the occasion of the wife's marriage or the marriage of the children.

Tiyindlu : plural of *Yindlu*.

SECTION I

CAPACITY TO CONTRACT MARRIAGE

A. DISCERNMENT

In Europe, individual choice is a necessary element in the capacity to contract a marriage. It is the condition of consent. Without choice the individual consent can have no value. Among the Ronga, where the idea of personal consent is still a vague concept, the

choice of the future husband and wife is not taken in account. The family Councils, whether in the case of the young man or in that of the young girl, take the responsibility, and custom makes them act cautiously.

SECTION II

B. PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

A man wishing to enter legal matrimony must have reached puberty ; he must be grown up. The girl's breasts must be developed. Engagement is not even mentioned before the periods have commenced or other signs of physical fitness for marriage have appeared.

PROHIBITIONS ON MARRIAGE

A. THE CATEGORIES OF IMPEDIMENTS TO MARRIAGE

It is difficult to set out the precise rules of Ronga custom. They vary according to time and space and the Natives, born lawyers, interpret them liberally.

To find my way through this tricky subject, I have divided my material as follows :

- a. Legal relationships* : prohibitions on marriage.
 - 1. between relatives in the direct line of descent.
 - 2. with descendants on the father's side.
 - 3. with descendants on the mother's side.
- b. Illegitimate relationships* : prohibitions on marriage.
 - 1. between relatives in the direct line of descent.
 - 2. with descendants on the father's side.
 - 3. with descendants on the mother's side.
- c. Relatives by marriage* : prohibitions on marriage.
 - 1. between relatives in the direct line of descent.
 - 2. other cases.
- d. Bukongwan relatives.*
- e. Prohibitions which result from adoption.*

B. LEGAL RELATIONSHIPS

I. Direct line of descent

Matrimony is prohibited between kinsmen in the direct line of descent.

II. *Descendants on the patrilineal line*

a. Matrimony is prohibited between the descendants of a known common ancestor, bearing the same patronymic (*chiloso*).

b. In the Maputo District the custom is that one may not marry a member (and his other descendants) of the house in which one's father's mother was born.

These prohibitions are even stricter at Catembe, where one may not marry a descendant of one's father's maternal grandmother.

III. *'Descendants in the matrilineal line*

Ronga custom prohibits a union between the descendants :

- a. of the mother.
- b. of her parents.
- c. of her grandparents.

A man may take a wife in the *muti* where the paternal or the maternal grandmothers of his mother were born. This then applies to the descendants of brothers or sisters, or of half brothers or sisters of the great grandmother. Five degrees and three changes of patronymics separate the man from these people.

C. *ILLEGITIMATE RELATIONSHIPS*

I. *Direct line of descent*

Matrimony is prohibited between kinsmen in the direct line of descent.

II. *Descendants in the patrilineal line*

What are the possibilities of marriage between the legitimate and the illegitimate child of the same man ?

A & B have had a child. B has married C and the illegitimate child of A & B has been made legitimate by the marriage between B & C. The child will bear C's surname. A marries D legally and they have a daughter who bears A's patronymic. If the patronymic of A & C are different, there is no reason why little C could not marry young A, who is really his half-sister.

III. *Descendants of the maternal line*

We notice that the illegitimate children of an unmarried woman bear her surname. Supposing, although it is highly improbable, that the woman should remain unmarried, the illegitimate child would then

belong to her family. Her family plays the part in the child's education which should have fallen to the husband's family in a legitimate union. The marriage prohibitions on the legitimate paternal line become effective. If the mother gets married to a man, although he is not the father of her child, the child becomes legitimate by that marriage, and his position is regulated by the prohibitions concerning the legitimate maternal family.

D. RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

I. Direct line of descent

Marriage is prohibited between people related by marriage in the direct line of descent, even if the union has been dissolved as a result of death or divorce.

II. Other cases

Marriage is prohibited between a man and all the women of the "kraals" in which the wives of his father were born, that is if the father is still alive.

A man and his son may not have wives coming from the same kraal at the same time.

E. THE "BUKONGWAN" ALLIANCE

Ronga marriage is concluded by the transmission of the *lobolo*. The specific sign that a marriage has been arranged, is the handing over of the *lobolo*. This concerns the people who transmit the *lobolo* (the bridegroom's family), and the people who receive the *lobolo* (the bride's family).

In the same way a divorce is concluded, and the marriage brought to an end, when the whole or a part of the *lobolo* is returned to the group of people who had transmitted it.

In the Ronga tribe, the same *lobolo* can be used to bring about several marriages. Here is a contradiction in the two attributes of the *lobolo*: it is the only given sign that a marriage has been arranged, and, at the same time, it is used to conclude several marriages. In fact, if the *lobolo* is the only proof that a marriage has been concluded, it should serve for that particular union only.

On the other hand, the transmission of the *lobolo* gives the bride a definite place in the hierarchy of her husband's village. In principle, the first wife takes the precedence. Those entering the village after her, have a lower position. This rule may come into conflict with other

principles of hierarchy, viz., those which subject the younger children to the older children of the same wife.

The ambiguities, and the instability, shown in the conflicts which result from this system of marriage by *lobolo*, have called into being new social relationships, to preserve the structure of Native society. A new series of obstacles to marriage and the institution of taboos gives rise to feelings of horror. This relationship is known as the *bukongwan* or "relationship of oxen."

The *bukongwan* prevents matrimony between the sisters, nieces, etc., of a man and all the people who have taken, or might have taken, possession of the *lobolo* paid by that man. (A man can take possession of a *lobolo* by reason of his relationship to a wife or by reason of old debts of *lobolo*) (see Chp. IX, Lit. C II). The *bukongwan* also prevents a marriage taking place between a man and all the women who might have been married by transmission of the *lobolo* paid by that man at the time of his marriage. (His own wife being an exception). Similarly, the *bukongwan* stands between a husband and his sisters-in-law (his wife's sisters) who occupy by birth a superior position in the family to that of his wife. However, the prohibitions resulting from the *bukongwan* are not all absolute. Some can be made void by means of a small ceremony.

The following prohibit a man from the marriage :

The relationship between a man and the wife of his wife's brother ; the relationship between a man and the sisters of his wife's husband ; the relationship between a man and his wife's elder sisters. The *bakongwan* not included under the three headings above can contract alliances but only after a little ceremony has been performed *hi ku siba mahu* (to shut one's eyes). It consists in paying the sum of £1 to the bride's family, beside all the usual legal requirements.

The "relationship of oxen" and the marriage prohibitions resulting from it do not outlast the union of which they are a result, if the *lobolo* has been refunded.

SECTION III

BETROTHAL

A BETROTHAL OF A BACHELOR

I. First contact

In principle, and in the majority of cases, an understanding between the two parties is the basis of a marriage, in the Ronga tribe. But, if a young man has difficulties in finding a wife, he asks his family to do so

for him. The family council meets and discusses in front of him the advantages and disadvantages of all likely matches. The young man has no right to express an opinion until the family has made a choice for him. He can then accept or reject the family's suggestion.

II. *Family Council of the future bridegroom*

Once a girl has been considered as a likely bride, what has the young man to do to make sure of getting her? He begins by seeking the advice of his family council. This council is composed of the suitor's father, of his paternal uncles and aunts, of his mother and his brothers. Though present, the young man cannot take part in the discussions until a decision has to be made.

The council has two functions: it represents the local authority whose duty it is to examine whether the future union can take place according to custom, and in particular, whether there are any hindrances to the marriage. The functions of the council then take on a political and a private character: it examines the bride's social position, her personal qualities, her chances of bearing children; and her state of health, whether there is any danger of her becoming possessed by spirits. The paternal aunts will be asked to make inquiries and to supply the council with any information obtained. When the council considers that the said matrimonial plans are dangerous, the young man is advised. The latter may give up the idea, or he may take no notice.

If this is the case, he is warned against the misfortunes, the dishonour and the troubles which this marriage may cause him. He is also warned that the family will not help him to collect a *lobolo*. If, in spite of these weighty arguments,—the future husband may possess an independent fortune—the suitor still persists, the council will give way to him. (*Tiyentšela le' ši u ši randaka.*)

When the family council has made a decision, a responsible member of the family is appointed to make a formal proposal to the girl's family. With numerous circumlocutions the appointed person—often the father or the elder brother of the young man—makes a most tactful speech to the girl's father. He defines the person to whom the marriage is offered, and, in a detached way, mentions a *lobolo*. But this last proposition cannot be made till later. Often, according to the Tembe people, the amount of the *lobolo* to be paid is only fixed provisionally.

III. *The Family Council of the bride-to-be*

This first encounter has brought together the envoy of the young man's council and the father or brother of the bride-to-be. The girl's

family council is then convoked. It verifies that custom has not been violated. It studies the position of the young man's family, his personal and physical qualities, his character, and his resources; finally, it fixes the amount to be paid for the first instalment of the *lobolo* which will finally conclude the betrothal. The council will also settle the whole amount of the *lobolo*. The girl concerned does not take part in these deliberations. She will be informed of the arrangements only when the decision is made. Then she will express her opinion and will be able to raise opposition.

In the Tembe Clan, if the girl agrees to the proposition, she must give a formal consent; *šana u tiyisile na?* "Are you quite decided?" To which the girl answers: "*I, I, danani!*" (Yes, eat, accept the *lobolo*). This question is asked several times. Once the decisions have been made, they are imparted to the representative of the young man's family. They specify three points: the agreement, the amount of the first instalment, and the discussion concerning the total *lobolo* which is now opened.

IV. Conclusion of the Betrothal

The betrothal is concluded when the young man's family have handed over a sum of money or heads of cattle to the bride's family. This capital is known as the *Šigila* and its payment is accompanied by a ceremony.

a. The *Muloboli*

Here we come across a person who plays an essential part in the final stages of a bachelor's marriage. He is the *muloboli*, i.e. the man of the *lobolo*. He belongs to the suitor's family; he must be married and is duly appointed by the bridegroom's family. To him falls the duty of handing over all the capital necessary to conclude the said marriage. He will do this in his capacity of *muloboli*; he may not forfeit the honour of his family nor betray it by taking the real suitor's place. The name of the person for whom the payment is made must be strongly emphasized. Similarly, the person who receives the money must emphasize the name of the girl for whom it is paid.

The *muloboli* does not state by whom the funds or the cattle are supplied. The recipient must also keep silent as to what use is to be made of it. These precautions are taken to prevent the brothers, uncles and other men of the family from imagining that they have a right to the bride under pretence that they have contributed towards the *lobolo*. The future husband is thus assured of the exclusive possession of that woman.

b. Effects of the payment

The arrangements for the betrothal are completed when the *Šigila* has been paid. The negotiations are continued, and the necessary preparations for the wedding feast are started. From this time on, the betrothed couple must visit each other. The young man is not allowed to think of a new betrothal, although polygamy is legal. The young girl is no longer marriageable. Finally the prohibitions on marriage which result from the alliance or *bukongwan* come into force.

V. Formal visit of the betrothed couple

The young man and the girl must pay each other at least one formal visit in their parent's home. This enables the family to get to know the bride and bridegroom. These mutually and directly express their wish to marry each other. On the other hand, if the girl receives her fiancé badly, he can break off the engagement.

VI. Breaking off of an engagement

Who has the right to break off an engagement ?

The four interested parties have. Firstly, either of the two families may do so if new impediments to the marriage are discovered. The bridegroom may break it off, if there has been misconduct on the girl's part, or as a result of the discovery of hidden facts concerning the bride's health, or again if the bride has not shown eagerness to receive him. The girl may refuse to keep as her future husband a man of improper conduct.

If a break is due to a default on the girl's part, or on the part of her council, the *muloboli* demands that the *šigila* should be refunded. If the man is in the wrong, he will not be able to get his money back until the girl gets betrothed again.

If either one of the couple should die, the *šigila* will always be refunded.

B. BETROTHAL OF A MARRIED MAN

The whole procedure of the betrothal is shortened when the suitor is already married to one or more women. The marriage is not an honour for the girl who is to occupy the last rank of the hierarchy of wives, nor is it an honour for the family who agrees to give such a place to the girl.

The bridegroom, having reached full adult status by his first marriage, will not need consent of his council, unless he wants its financial aid. Only the payment of the *šigila* and the consent of the bride and the bride-

groom are essential to conclude the betrothal. The girl's family council however, will see that tradition is followed as far as the marriage prohibitions are concerned.

As a rule, matrimony between a man and his wife's young sister is thoroughly approved of. In this case, the man's wife will take the necessary steps, will pay the *šigila* and will accompany her husband on his official visit. If the first wife can prove that she leads a comfortable life with the husband, the matter will proceed normally, and the young sister will see the advantages of entering into her brother-in-law's family, unless she has sentimental reasons for disliking the match.

SECTION IV

MARRIAGE

One must distinguish three factors of unequal importance in the concluding stages of a marriage :

- I. The payment of the *lobolo*.
- II. The procession which leads the bride to the bridegroom's home.
- III. The feast.

A. PAYMENT OF THE LOBOLO

I. Its importance

This first act is the pivot of Bantu marriage. In the Ronga tribe the young girl does not leave her home before the second instalment of the *lobolo* has been paid. This part is known as *mali ya ku hloma*, the procession money.

The first instalment, the *šigila* of the betrothal, excluded the girl from the ranks of the marriageable girls ; she was reserved, but not yet given away. The second deposit inaugurates married life. It is the touchstone of the legal marriage.

II. Date and place of payment, witnesses

This transfer of wealth occurs on the eve of the wedding, before the greatest possible number of witnesses. Both families are present ; only the bride and the bridegroom are not included. It is important to find out how much money and how many heads of cattle have passed from one family to the other, and, in case of argument, the witnesses are there to refresh the memories which have become heated by the palaver,

Here we find once more the *muloboli* who is responsible for paying the *lobolo*. The money will be received by the father or, if he is absent, by the brother or, again, by the mother of the bride. The girl's family declares aloud : *a lobolile ha ku kari* (he has paid a *lobolo* of so much). If there is a debt, it is also mentioned openly in front of the witnesses.

III. Debts

The Southern Ronga pay *lobolo* of £30 to £40 in gold, or as many Portuguese notes of 100\$00 which are equivalent to 10-12 heads of cattle. It is rare that the whole *lobolo* is paid cash down, it is enough to make a deposit of £1-10 for the marriage. The rest of the debt will be paid little by little.

This system of paying by instalments—which, by the way, is the source of so much contention—allows the young people to settle down sooner into a normal way of living. It gives a chance to the young bachelor as against the old and wealthy polygamist.

IV. Results of the payment

The payment of the *lobolo* gives rise to two obligations : the bride's family must take her to the husband's village ; the husband's family must receive her as legitimate wife and allow her to take her rightful position.

B. PROCESSION

I. Preparations

The day after the payment of the *lobolo*, two or three young girls belonging to the bridegroom's village, go to the bride's home. After numerous and lengthy greetings they go and rest in a hut set apart for them. During this time the bride is told to get ready to go ; the women of the village give her much good advice as to the duties of a good wife, and present her with her trousseau.

II. The Procession.

Then, in solemn silence, the procession is formed. It is composed of three groups. In front walk the women who have come to fetch the bride, then the young men follow, and lastly the women belonging to the bride's village bring up the rear. The bridegroom has remained at home. The nuptial procession follows the paying of the *lobolo* and these two acts are public.

III. *Risks*

At which precise moment is the girl married, which is the actual moment when she is secured beyond danger? This question has embarrassed my informants more than once. The *Tembe* consider the woman married when she crosses the boundary of her own village (i.e. her parents' village). On the other hand, in the Maputo, the delegates from the husband's village do not take over the young girl, they only act as guides. In this way they consider that the young girl is not married until she enters the enclosure of her future husband's village.

As a matter of fact, the question is of trifling importance. If a serious accident interrupts the procession, the witch-doctor's advice will be sought, and his answer will decide whether or not the *lobolo* should be refunded.

C. *THE MARRIAGE FEAST*

I. *Feast*

The members of the cortege and the bride and the bridegroom, united at last, spend the night in the conjugal home. The next day is a day of rejoicings. The members of two families are all present. A cow or a goat is sacrificed and the wife's relatives go off into the bush to collect dry wood which they will pile up high.

By preparing the banquet, the bridegroom's family show their full consent to the marriage. The bride's group collects the wood as a present to the young wife and to all the husband's relatives. There is in this way an exchange of good will which expresses the complete approval of the two families.

II. *The pile of wood*

This allows the young wife to prepare fires in the various huts of her husband's village, but it also acts as a public announcement. In this way every one knows that a woman has legally entered the village in which the pile of wood is standing.

D. *MARRIAGE OF A MARRIED MAN*

When the man is already married to another woman, the marriage formalities are greatly simplified. The payment of the *lobolo* in exchange for the bride retains its essential features. When reduced to these simple factors, a marriage by *lobolo* has the appearance of a mere bargain.

SECTION V

NULLITY

The Ronga do not recognise nullity as a reason for divorce. In spite of this, in actual fact, nullity of marriage does exist when one of its essential elements is wanting.

These are : consent, payment of the *lobolo* and the bride's tradition. The marriage is threatened with nullity when, although celebrated according to rule, it was actually not valid owing to legal prohibitions (kinship). There is evident nullity when the marriage, although arranged according to rule, was made invalid because of a previous marriage of the woman, which had not been dissolved. When nullity is declared, the wife leaves her husband, the *lobolo* is returned and the children, as a rule, follow the mother. Here, however, certain informants have been contradictory : the children will remain with their father if the latter gives up all claims to the *lobolo*. This solution, however is not satisfactory.

SECTION VI

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

A. DECEASE OF ONE OF THE PARTIES

The death of one of the parties should end the marriage if the husband and wife were the only people concerned in it. In reality, the families of the married couple are party to the marriage—as we shall see later—and custom decrees that the conjugal union should outlive the decease of one of the parties.

I. Decease of the woman

Does the decease of the woman put an end to the marriage ? The question may appear trifling since the husband has the right to enter into a new union whether he is free or not. The fact remains, however, that the marriage under discussion has woven a net of obligations and rights around the husband—impediments to marriage into certain families, reduced *lobolo* in certain cases.

Let us bear in mind that the *bukongwan* relationship and the limitations which it entails does not end when the wife is deceased and that the Ronga widower has no right to claim the *lobolo*. However, the husband may be able to show that he has a right to marry a young sister of his late wife at a reduced *lobolo*.

II. *Decease of the husband*

The marriage is not dissolved by the husband's death.

a. *Family Council*

The deceased man's family council holds a meeting at which the widow, or widows, are present, to decide what arrangement will be made, with whom they will continue living in marriage, or under whose guardianship they will be placed.

The real reason of the convocation of this council is less to hand over the widows to the men of the family, than to make a distribution of the rights and obligations deriving from the *manus* of the late husband over the women. No woman belonging to the tribe must be alone or left to herself.

b. *Levirate " Ku nhingenela "*

As a rule, the widow or widows continue their conjugal union with a legal substitute for the husband. But, before that, certain conditions must be fulfilled :

(1) a substitute authorised by custom, must be appointed and must agree to play that part ;

(2) the widow must give her full approval ;

(3) a year of mourning must pass before married life may be continued ;

(4) the substitute must notify the woman's family that her married life is to continue, by sending them £1—through the woman herself.

c. *Choice of a substitute*

The Ronga custom limits the choice of substitutes for a husband by postulating certain preferential mates :

Among the brothers of the deceased the situation is this : the eldest brother's widow will be allotted to the second brother ; the youngest brother's wife to the brother nearest in age to the deceased. The widows of the eldest are entrusted to the various brothers, the first to the eldest one, the second to the next in age, etc., so that the hierarchic order of the women belonging to the deceased man's village, is maintained by their distribution in order of seniority to the deceased man's brothers.

At Catembe, a younger deceased brother may not be replaced by his elder brother, because the young wife calls his brother-in-law *tatana*

(father). In this way they both occupy a position which excludes for ever the possibility of a conjugal union.

A more rational reason has been sought to explain this obstacle. It has been said that if the eldest brother marries his youngest brother's wife, the children born of this union—younger brothers or sisters of those born by the youngest brother—would be superior in the family hierarchy to their elders. (c.f. Junod).

Now the people of the Maputo say this: "The eldest brother who takes the place of the youngest brother acts in the name of the deceased and for his sake. The children who are issue to this inherited marriage will be *bana ba ndisana* (children of the youngest) holding the same position as their elders. Having been born after them, they will naturally be their subordinates. Consequently an eldest brother may act as substitute for his youngest brother with regard to the widow."

But a widow who does not wish to have a man living with her may ask to have a house built a little way off apart from the rest of the family. Then she may receive a lover by whom she will bear children. These will be considered legitimate and will be regarded as belonging to the deceased husband.

The levirate will end with the widow's death, or the death of the substitute or by divorce. There is no reason why a widow who outlives a first substitute should not accept another one. As a matter of fact, she will find difficulty in marrying a man brave enough to form a union with a woman who has "caused the death" of two men.

B. DIVORCE

I. Generalities and previous condition

Divorce implies separation between the parties, namely: separation of husband and wife, if they are alive; of the widow and the husband's substitute in the case of "levirate"; of the widow and the husband's family if the conjugal union had been left blank.

Divorce also necessitates the division of the goods of the parties and lastly the refund of the *lobolo* or of a part of it. This act is irrevocable and is the final sign of the termination of the marriage.

But the possibility of divorce depends on one ultimate condition: the sterility of the woman. If she has children, she is for ever bound to her husband's village. The desire for divorce may come from the

husband or wife only. It is expressed to the woman's father or his substitute. This person is the natural judge in the first instance from the fact that he has the *lobolo* in hand. If the first palaver does not provide a solution, the matter is taken to the chief who, with the help of his advisers, come to a final decision. Nowadays the Government authorities may be called in to settle these difficulties.

II. *Motives*

(a) Adultery on the part of the woman is a motive sufficient for divorce. But a Ronga husband will often find it more advantageous to claim an indemnity of £6 from the lover, which does not exclude a repudiation if the wife relapses.

(b) Adultery on the part of the husband is not a motive for divorce.

(c) The desertion of the home by the woman gives her husband the right of reclaiming the *lobolo* from his father-in-law.

(d) He will act similarly if the woman is very lazy, has a difficult character, or quarrels with her co-wives.

(e) The Ronga custom grants divorce or separation to the wife who is ill-treated by her husband.

Here the *lobolo* is a security handed over to the woman's natural protector, viz., her father.

(f) The Ronga custom also dissolves a marriage when the husband becomes or is impotent.

(g) A woman may ask for divorce if her husband has refused her part of game killed while hunting, in a time of dearth.

(h) A divorce may be decided by common consent of the two parties. But this takes place only if the woman has personal resources which allow her to pay back the *lobolo* without the help of her people. But, when the young widow has no children, the family of the deceased will readily obtain a divorce, instead of submitting her to the law of levirate. This solution is looked upon with favour by the husband's successor who is financially liable for her. This again, is a case of divorce by mutual consent.

III. *Special case : Divorce of a woman already separated*

There is a procedure, however uncommon, which allows a man to marry legally a woman separated from her husband. The suitor will

first get into touch with the family of the separated husband, with a view to paying back the whole or part of the *lobolo* to him. He will readily obtain permission to pay off a modest sum only, which is always welcomed by the family. On the other hand, he will enter into conversation with the family of his future wife, offering them to take the place of the first husband, by paying a minimum *lobolo*. These arrangements must have the approval of the first husband, of his successor, of the woman, and of their three families.

IV. *Refund of the lobolo*

The conclusive sign of divorce is the refund of the *lobolo* or a part of the *lobolo* to the husband's family.

But, if the husband has ill-treated the wife (this being the cause of the divorce) the *lobolo* will be refunded only if the woman marries again.

V. *Temporary measures*

A woman, when suing for divorce, will go to live with her parents. These must assist her by reason of the *lobolo* which they accepted.

VI. *The woman's possessions*

Once the *lobolo* has been refunded the woman sends her brothers to her ex-husband's home to fetch her personal belongings, and the cattle which she may have received at the time of her wedding.

The "compensation" is naturally reserved.

C. *SEPARATION*

I.

This separation does not require the refund of the *lobolo* and does not set free the woman. It can be temporary or permanent.

II. *The husband's motives*

The husband has the right to repudiate his wife, but without claiming the *lobolo* if she has committed *adultery*, if she is a witch (*noyi*), if her conduct or her language cause *discord* in the family, or if through *laziness* she does not perform her duties in the home. The last two factors open the door for divorce, but there is strong resistance on the part of the woman's family which does not want to refund the *lobolo*, nor to take back one whom they had been glad to get rid of. The family will urge her, by violent admonitions and even brutal treatment, to reform, and to go back to her husband's home.

III. *The wife's motives*

The wife has a right to desert her husband's home and to seek her family's protection if she has been *ill-treated* by her husband or deprived of the products of his hunting in times of dearth.

IV. *Competent authority*

The woman's father once more plays the part of the judge. He treats firmly his daughter or his son-in-law. If the husband's brutality is at the bottom of the matter, the father will take it upon himself to give him a serious warning, and if this fails, to get him to pay an idemnity. The husband will have to do as his father-in-law wishes and remembering his disorganised *muti* will pay up and make promises. The following day, the wife's brothers will take her back to her husband's home. If the wife is in the wrong, the father's anger will be directed at her. More serious cases have to be solved by the chief.

SECTION VII

A FEW REMARKS CONCERNING MARRIAGE

I. *The parties concerned*

To summarize, tradition recognises four parties concerned. These are : 'The bride and the bridegroom and their two families.

The preparation, the conclusion, the prolongation, the rupture of a marriage present a network of negotiations and of acts. Bride and bridegroom act alone, e.g., in the understanding reached before the betrothal in the visits of the betrothal period, the separation. Each of the fiancés has to appear before his or her family council at the close of the council meetings, when the nuptial procession is formed, when the pile of wood is erected, and when the woman is ill-treated and seeks the protection of her parents. The two families also negotiate directly over the heads of the bride and bridegroom, when the official proposal is made, when the *šigila* and the *lobolo* are paid or, again, when the *lobolo* is refunded to the *muloboli* by the wife's family as a result of cruelty or a divorce.

Finally, each of the fiancés or partners comes into contact with the others family during the official betrothal visits, or a few days after the wedding, when the bride is initiated into the culinary ways of her new family. In this way one can see that although the Ronga family is not in a position of entire control, it yet plays a much more important rôle than the families of a married couple living under civilized law.

II. Consent

The consent of the four parties concerned in a marriage must be obtained, but let us remember that the bride and bridegroom have a right to *veto* the decisions of their councils. When a married man forms a new union, he does not consult his family, unless he wishes to have its financial aid. His clan does not take much notice of marriages of this kind. But a new interested party intervenes, namely the first wife. She steps in when her husband wishes to marry one of her sisters, and she has to give her consent to the marriage and to play the part we have already described.

III. Expression of consent

The consent of the four parties is made manifest throughout the betrothal. The two family councils show their approval to each of the parties by means of verbal declarations, by supplying the cattle or the gold of the *lobolo* and by conducting the official proceedings. Finally, on the wedding day one of the councils hands the *lobolo* to the other, and by their presence at the wedding they show their consent to it.

The bride and bridegroom mutually declare their wish to get married during the meetings preceding the betrothal, and, later, during the official visits. Talking of the bride and bridegroom, it is clear that the family councils, who are the first to give their consent, and who act as the marriage bankers, decide which man should receive financial aid from the family.

A decision to marry may result directly from the existence or arrival of cattle. It is part of the council's duty to determine which man will be able to marry by making use of the existent capital. The same authority will watch that the woman chosen by the suitor whose marriage is thus financed, can give the guaranties required for the future of the clan. If a girl is to be given in marriage, the elders will decide which one should marry first by reason of her age or of her precedence. The choice of spouses is the object of lengthy deliberations.

The parties now have decided how much the first instalment of the *lobolo* should be (*šigila*), what should be the total sum of the *lobolo*, and what sum should be paid on the eve of the wedding. Speaking of vitiation of consent (error, *dolus malus*, *vis physica*) it is necessary to state that the slowness of the negotiations, the voice of the family councils, the possibility of a young girl escaping from all pressure on the part of her people by running away, that all these circumstances help to eliminate error, constraint or *dolus*, so far as marriage is concerned.

IV. *Publicity*

In civilized countries, the banns of marriage must be published. Any person knowing any just cause of impediment, must be warned, and must give her witness to the authorities. The country must know who is getting married without any doubt whatsoever. How is a marriage made public in a primitive society which surrounds it with such precautions? Among the Ronga people, before the betrothal, the family councils who are asked to discuss the projected marriage, are the first members of the public interested. Later, the marriage feast is announced far and wide. All the people come to it. They will accompany the nuptial procession and will take part in the reception, and "will eat meat." After the wedding, the pile of wood, the *šiguan*, is the sign that a girl has entered the village as a legitimate wife.

V. *Elements of marriage*

A reciprocal and concordant declaration made by the parties at a Native wedding, does not constitute the marriage of the future partners. The consent of the parties, of the families, of the bride and bridegroom, must be made manifest by a procedure which I have tried to describe. From it follow the rest of the acts which constitute a marriage. In this way consent is the first element of marriage.

But the rights and obligations of marriage result from two main acts: the paying of the *lobolo*, on the one hand, and the woman's tradition on the other. These three underlined conditions are essential. If one fails, the marriage is nul. But the three are sufficient to make a marriage valid.

SECTION VIII

EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE

The effects of marriage result from the payment of the *lobolo*, on the one hand, and the tradition of the wife, on the other. The payment of the *lobolo* is the act which gives birth to the "spirit of the husband" and the "spirit of the family." The arrival of the woman in her husband's *muti* gives her and her people certain rights and puts her husband and his people under all sorts of obligations.

A. *THE HUSBAND'S POSITION*

I. *Rights*

(a) The chief

The payment of the *lobolo* gives the husband the title and functions of head of the conjugal union and of the family. He sets up his village as

he thinks fit. According to custom, he may, in certain conditions, take a second or third wife without the consent of the first wife.

(b) The legal guardian

By the same payment he receives from his wife's father, the *manus*, that is, the prerogatives of a legal guardian, his wife being a minor for life. He also becomes a legal representative. It is he, the husband, who asks the chief for lands which his wife may cultivate. However, it is recognised that a married woman may work for Europeans without being represented by her husband.

(c) Rights over the children.

The man who has paid the *lobolo* is considered to be the father of all his wife's children. The case of children born before the betrothal or the marriage, remains open. In the eyes of his wife, of her family and of the natural fathers of her children and, we should say in opposition to all their rights, he is the father of his wife's children.

II. Obligations

(a) Hut

The woman's legal home is her husband's *muti*. That means that his duty is to build a hut for his wife or for each of his wives, and to keep it in good condition.

(b) Granaries

He must also build the enclosures and the granaries necessary for domestic life.

(c) Feeding

He is responsible for the cattle which his wife may bring as a dowry, he must feed his family in time of famine by hunting and by seeking work in town.

(d) " Medical " expenses

He must meet the expenses of witch-doctors and doctors or supply his wives' children with skins or materials.

(e) Tax

Finally he must pay the taxes.

B. THE WIFE'S POSITION

I. Rights

(a) Legitimate wife

If she has been married by means of *lobolo*, the wife arrives at her husband's *muti* bearing the title of legitimate wife. She takes her place at the head of the hierarchy if she is the first wife, or at the bottom, if one or more wives have been taken before her.

(b) Place in the hierarchy

The rank occupied by each wife in the hierarchy depends on how long she has been married. The first wife or "great wife" (*nsati lwe nkulu* or *nkosikasi*) is the one first married by the husband. There is an exception to this rule, viz., a wife married by means of a *lobolo* obtained from the marriage of a sister of the husband, occupies a rank superior to that of any wife married by means of a *lobolo* earned by the husband, or of a *lobolo* obtained from the marriage of the husband's daughters.

(c) Hut

As a legitimate wife, the woman lays the foundation of a *yindlu*. She has then the right to have her own hut.

(d) Good treatment

The husband must give her good treatment.

(e) Sanctions

All the wife's rights are protected by a "sanction" as efficacious as it is prompt, seeing that the wife may make use of it without anyone's intervention. The fact is that she may go back to her own people, to her father who acts as judge and who is obliged to receive his daughter, to protect her, to give her board and lodging, and to settle the quarrel between the husband and wife.

II. Obligations

The *lobolo* paid by the husband to the wife's family subjects her to the various obligations :

(a) Obedience

The wife must be obedient to her husband who is the chief of the village and to the first wife, if she does not hold that position herself. She must allow herself to be initiated in domestic ways by the husband's family.

(b) Faithfulness

Being her husband's wife, she must be faithful to him.

(c) Children

She must give children to her husband. This, however, is not an absolute obligation in the Ronga tribe.

(d) House work.

She does the housework, cultivates the fields and supplies her husband and children with vegetable food.

(e) Help and hospitality

She is expected to give help to any member of the village who is in trouble (her husband, his other wives, the children). She must give extensive hospitality to all her relatives.

III. The married woman's name

The Ronga woman does not take her husband's patronymic. As she keeps her father's name, she has a different name to that of her legitimate children.

IV. The married woman's family

The custom is then that the married woman has two families.

(1) The family she forms with her husband, his other wives, and her children, and

(2) A family to which she may turn in times of trouble, i.e. her father's family.

C. POSITION OF THE HUSBAND'S FAMILY

The part played by the husband's family, which is one of the parties to the marriage, varies. When a bachelor gets married, the old women initiate the young wife into the domestic rules of the village. The influence which the paternal relatives exercise on the children's education, and on the son's education in particular, is unquestioned.

The children are aware that the authority in the family is on the paternal side.

The husband's sister becomes the wife's confidante. As a matter of fact, it is often as a result of her marriage that the husband's

marriage can take place, and this makes her *persona grata*. The paternal relatives play an important part after the husband's death, as they have to provide a substitute for him.

D. POSITION OF THE WIFE'S FAMILY

Those who have received the *lobolo* take on two functions: they protect the wife against any abuse on the husband's part. When, after having deserted her husband, the wife arrives in her father's home, he has to receive her and feed her, not as an ordinary relative, but by reason of the *lobolo*. The powers of judge in the first instance are given to the woman's father or to his substitute. It is he who has to settle the quarrels between the husband and wife. Should the woman be reduced to poverty, she has a right to seek refuge with her own people.

SECTION IX

REGIME OF THE LOBOLO

A. SOURCES OF THE LOBOLO

I. Generalities

In Bantu society, marriage considered as a social service, is obligatory but it is not gratuitous. It even requires funds which, until recent times, the young man found impossible to raise. Indeed, before the penetration of European civilization, the Native had no means of earning an income. This contradiction between the compulsory character of marriage and the necessity for payment is solved by "mutual assistance." The assistance given to a bridegroom increases the clan's authority.

II. How help is obtained

If a young man wishes to get married, who will help him to do so? In the first class are all the men who have a say in the family council; his father, his uncles, his brothers, i.e. the sons of his own mother and the sons of his father's other wives.

III. Origin of the fund

The cattle, the gold, the bank notes placed in the bridegroom's hands are of two kinds according to their origin.

How the *lobolo* has been acquired, is not an unimportant matter. It may have been earned as a result of the man's work or it may have passed into the family when one of the daughters married. I have stated

previously that a wife married with a *lobolo* obtained from the marriage of the husband's sister, has a more privileged position in the hierarchy of wives.

IV. *The form of assistance given*

The *lobolo* handed over to the bride's people by the *muloboli* as a sign that a marriage is to be concluded, is supplied to the bridegroom as a loan or a donation.

(a) If the money given to the bridegroom to enable him to pay the *lobolo* was earned by his own brothers, or was received by the father when the bridegroom's own sister was married, he is not obliged to pay it back. One does not owe money to the people of one's *yindlu*.

(b) The bridegroom's half-brothers—belonging to the same *muti* or village, but coming from different *uyindlu*—may give him the necessary help as "lenders" of the money. If the father makes use of a *lobolo* received at the marriage of a girl belonging to a different *yindlu* from that of the bridegroom, the latter will have to refund the money of that *yindlu*.

The position is the same if uncles or more distant relatives assist the bridegroom financially. Their loans will be refunded.

(c) The bridegrooms frequently take work at the mines, either to earn a *lobolo* or to collect enough money to pay their *lobolo* debts.

V. *Help given to polygamists*

Financial assistance is not often given to men wishing to take a wife when they already have one.

B. MASTER OF THE LOBOLO

The payment of the *lobolo* precedes the wedding. We have seen that it is handed over to the bride's father or to his substitute by the *muloboli* of the bridegroom's family.

Does the father of the girl become the owner or the administrator of the *lobolo*?

Does the *lobolo* belong to the "village" *muti* or to the "house" *yindlu* or again, to the mother, who is the founder of the bride's home?

In the Maputo, I was told that the bride's father is the *nwinyi wa bukosi*. He is master of the *lobolo*, the owner of it. He has the right to use or misuse it without having to account for it to anyone. The men

of Nwapulan think differently. The masters are the men of the bride's *yindlu*, in other words, her own brothers who will decide what is to be done with the *lobolo*, under the father's direction.

Must it be admitted that these different accounts mean different customs? Let us remember, however, that the father alone does not receive the *lobolo*. The bridegroom's family must have witnesses chosen purposely from the bride's family: her brothers, her uncles. The latter are all members of the family council which has a right to distribute the *lobolo*. In short, the Maputo men have made contradictory statements. If the council has something to say in the matter, the father is not really the owner.

C. THOSE WHO HAVE A RIGHT TO THE LOBOLO

A young bride's father has received a *lobolo*. What happens?

I. *Gratuities*

First of all, the young bride's mother, her paternal uncle, and her maternal uncles receive a gratuity of £1. The rest of the *lobolo* is left as a lump sum which, among the Maputo, may be squandered on drink by the father. Elsewhere, this *lobolo* will be used to get a wife for a man: *lobolo di fanela ku buyisa nsati*, "the *lobolo* must bring a wife."

II. *Those who have a right*

Who are the men who may assert their rights on this money in order to get married? Firstly, those who are old enough to get married and who are closely related to the bride, that is those belonging to her mother's *yindlu*, failing these, the men belonging to the *muti* of the bride's father. The sum will not be divided, but will be conferred on the oldest bachelor who is most closely related to the bride.

In this way, in a certain *yindlu*, the eldest brother will get the *lobolo* of the eldest girl, the first to get married. The second son will get the *lobolo* of the second daughter, etc.

It may happen that a woman has daughters only. As each gets married, a *lobolo* will be made available. The men born in the other's *tiyindlu* of the father's *muti* will be able to lay claim to it, but the son of a superior *yindlu* has the prior rights and is not obliged to refund the sum. If the daughter of a monogamous *muti* gets married, and she has no brothers, the men of the *yindlu* in which her father was born have the first rights to the *lobolo*.

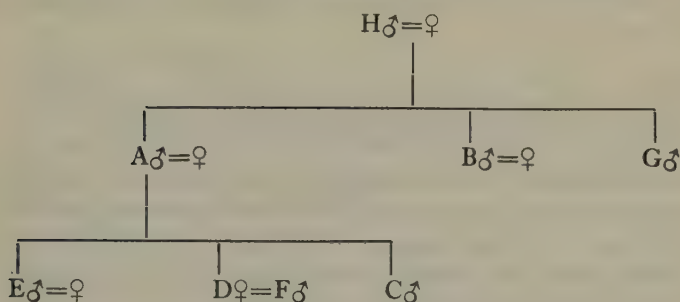
Finally come the men of the various *tiyindlu* of the *muti* in which the bride's father was born. Among them are often very young men, even children, younger than their niece.

III. Examples

Meaning of symbols: ♂ = man

♀ = woman

= = bound by marriage

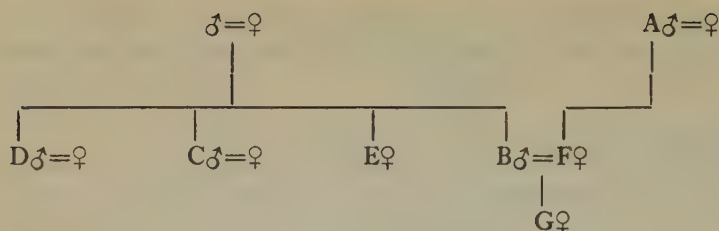


A has three children E D C. D is married to F. The father A receives a *lobolo*. The young brother C has a right to it, if he is old enough to get married. If not, uncle G, belonging to the *yindlu* of the bride's father will get it. C would receive the *lobolo* as a gift, as he was born in the same house as the bride. G on the contrary, would have to refund the *lobolo*.

D. LOBOLO DEBTS

In the majority of marriages, the whole *lobolo* is not paid. There remains a debt on it.

Another case: To get married, a man has made use of the *lobolo* coming from the marriage of his half-sister, or of his niece, that is, a woman of another *yindlu* than his. He will have to refund it. The Ronga law gives a right to the creditor on the *lobolo* of the daughters who will be born to the debtor, as a result of his marriage. The debtor will be able to pay his debts with the *lobolo* of his daughters or by working to earn enough money to acquit himself. The creditor's rights may extend to the *lobolo* of his debtor's sisters, even if there are still brothers to marry.



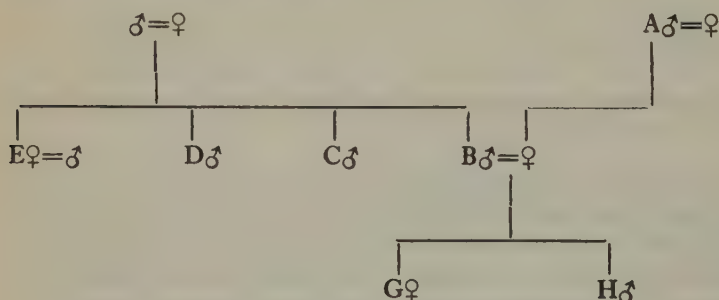
B marries F daughter of A. He does not pay the whole *lobolo*. A, the father-in-law, has privileged rights to the *lobolo* of G♀ daughter of B, and of E, sister of B.

E. CONFLICT OF RIGHTS BETWEEN THE LOBOLO CREDITORS AND THE CLAIMANTS TO THE LOBOLO

It frequently happens that a *lobolo* paid to the father of a family is coveted, not only by the brothers and half-brothers of the bride, but also and especially, by the various creditors of the *lobolo*. A conflict arises between those who want to get married, and those who want to be paid. These conflicts are solved by the following principles :

(a) The sum total of the *lobolo* must first be seized to pay off an old *lobolo* debt.

(b) The family council gives the rejected claimant the rights (*actis*) of the satisfied creditors



B♂ has a debt of *lobolo* towards his father-in-law A. E♀ gets married, which brings in the *lobolo* coveted by A♂ D♂ C♂, her three brothers of the same *yindlu*.

According to the rule already mentioned, the family council makes the following decision :

The *lobolo* will serve to pay B's debt. But D, who is the eldest of the three brothers, and is, thus, the disappointed claimant, will have a right to the *lobolo* of G♀, his niece.

SECTION X

MATRIMONIAL REGIME

A. PROPERTY

Matrimonial property can be classified as *muti* property, *yindlu* property and the wife's own property.

I. The *Muti* property

The husband is the owner of the *muti* property. This is composed of the property reserved to the husband, which comprises the product of his work and the presents received by him. Then comes the property which he inherited from his father's *muti* and from his mother's *yindlu*. The money earned by the woman while working for Europeans, or by the sale of objects manufactured at home, becomes *muti* property and consequently, the husband's property because he has paid the *lobolo*.

II. Property of each "*yindlu*."

The property of each *yindlu* is obtained through the marriages of the girls belonging to that *yindlu* and the sons of that *yindlu* benefit by it. It is *yindlu* property until the mother's death. The produce of the wife's cultivations seems to be the property of each *yindlu*, since it cannot be mixed with that of other *tiyindlu*. The husband must build separate granaries for each *yindlu*.

III. The woman's property

Her trousseau, and the presents she received at the time of her wedding, are considered to be the woman's particular property.

B. ADMINISTRATION

The administration of the *muti* and *yindlu* properties falls to the husband.

He manages the properties of which he is the owner and the properties of the various *tiyindlu*, alone.

He has a right to the produce of the women's fields, but only for his own use. On the other hand, in times of dearth his duty is to procuer

food for all the inhabitants of the *muti* by hunting or by seeking work in town. He must supply the women and the children with clothing . . . this he often does in theory, and the woman must do as best she can by exchanging the produce of her fields for cotton goods.

When we say that the husband manages the property alone, we are only telling a part of the truth. When there are debts the creditors, in effect the wife's family, watch the management of affairs. When important steps have to be taken, future marriages arranged, etc., the decision are left to the family council.

C. DEBTS

The *tiyindlu* are often burdened with debts. It may be that the husband has used the property of one *yindlu* in favour of another; the latter is then indebted to the former. But the *lobolo*, as may easily be guessed, are the principal cause of debts. I have already described how the perspective *lobolo* of a *yindlu* will serve to pay off the debts incurred by the father of the *muti* or the debts which one of the sons of a particular *yindlu* has contracted with another *yindlu* at the time of his marriage.

THE CONCEPTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF POETRY IN ZULU*

By B. W. VILAKAZI

I. POETICAL EXPRESSION IN ZULU

A Zulu man, who is considered to have a natural gift for seeing and feeling most in the wake and experience of life, will look at his king, survey him in the light of his ancestors, and then turn over in his mind the heroic deeds of his king and even his weaknesses. Suddenly he will spring up in a crowd, with his shield pointed to the sky, and the whole of his body tingling with emotional excitement. The crowd is bound to listen to him. Such a man is never requested to do his duty, but, stirred by the performance of tribal ceremony and imbued with national pride, he feels it most opportune to express his feelings, and thus fulfils his self-imposed duty. He cries out :

Bayede ! " Hail, O King ! "

and the crowd is silent. He then bursts out as follows—

*UNdaBa ngiyameba, ngimuka naye,
Ngimbuka kwehle nezinyembezi,
Sengathi ngibuk' isihlahla somdlebe.*

*Igwija likaMdlaka ligwegwe,
Lijiyez' abasini bengoma.*

*UNdaBa uludud' emanxulumeni,
UDlungwan' ongenamthelekeli.*

*Sidlukula—dlwedlwe !
Uhlany' olusemehlwen' amadoda.¹*

*Portion of a thesis accepted by the University of the Witwatersrand for the M.A. degree.

¹ *Literal English Version;*

" I give stealthy looks at NdaBa, and satisfy myself.
Tears rain down my eyes,
As though at tabooed plant I've looked.

Mdlaka's war-dance file is crooked,
It disappoints the dancers of song.

NdaBa is charmed with people's kraals,
He destroys everything without obstruction.

You rob them of their longest sticks.
You are the mad man they look at."

When the emotional tide has subsided you ask the man :

<i>Kade wenzani ?</i>	What have you been doing ?
<i>Kade ngisho " izibongo " zenkosi.</i>	I have been saying the <i>izibongo</i> of the King.
<i>Wena ungowaphi ?</i>	To what clan do you belong ?
<i>" Isibongo " sami ngingowakwaGumede.</i>	My clan " <i>isibongo</i> " is Gumede.

The man gives the recitation of *izibongo* and says he belongs to the *isibongo*, Gumede. In these two words lies the secret meaning of Bantu poetry. The two words come from the same verb which has many shades of meaning. The verb *bonga* has the following meanings: (a) thank (as when given something), (b) admire, speak in high tones of, use emotional language, and (c) give clan name or kinship term.

Again one will see warriors dancing with greater excitement even than the reciting poet. The excitement is not derived from the rhythmic swinging and thumping of their feet, but from the words and melody of the song composed to the dancing step. Here we have *ingoma*, e.g.

*Inyanda yemkhonto,
Ahlom' ahlasel' uNdaBa,
Wayigingq' imbokodo ;
Bazokufa : namp' abahulazi,
Inqobo yethu yokutholwa,
Nganginge-nje.
Wo, hehiya hhe ! ¹*

The word *izibongo* is a plural of a class 4 noun, and is always used in this form when meaning any phrase or phrases, sentence or sentences, where the imaginative or emotional language is employed to describe something. *Izibongo* may be attributed to a person, animal, or any object of emotional excitement. Many people in the past believed that *izibongo* were meant only for kings and warriors. This was wrong. When the term is used in the singular form as in the example quoted above, it has an ethnological significance in tracing kinship relationship and genealogy.

All individuals in a Zulu-speaking kraal belong to a clan and form a group of people related to each other by blood, having a common ancestor. One of the most common clan names (*isibongo*) in Zululand is *Cele* ; but to

¹ *Literal English Version :*

" A bundle of spears,
Then NdaBa will be armed and will attack.
Behold thou hast rolled a boulder ;
People will die : here come the scythemen.
Exile has been our lot,
I am not what I used to be.
Wo, heyiya hhe ! ! "

differentiate it from other clans which may bear the same *isibongo* there must be a second qualificative name called *isithakazelo*, hence *Cele* (*isibongo*) has *Ndosi* (*isithakazelo*). You can then address any member of the *Cele* clan as *Ndosi*.

The problem to be solved is whether *izibongo* can be considered poetry. Personally I contend that they are poetry, because in studying the language of their composition, one does not fail to discover a deep and genuine imaginative tone, for the composer of *izibongo* apprehends experience, both in its intensity and its subtlety, and shows undeniable power of revealing unknown modes of being through his creation and association of images. The Zulu mind's association of images may differ from that of any European or classic poet; but that does not detract anything from his own language, or lower his power of command therein, and, through it, ability to speak in emotional language. We have the assurance of Jacob Grimm in this, when he wrote in 1812 that "Each individuality, even in the world of languages, should be respected as sacred; it is desirable that even the smallest and most despised dialect should be left to itself and to its own nature and in no wise subject to violence, because it is sure to have some secret advantages over the greatest and most highly valued languages."

When a Zulu poet speaks of Dingane thus—

*Isizib' esiMavivane, Dingane :
Isizib' esinzonzo sizonzobele,
Siminzis' umuntu eth' uyageza
Waze washona nangesicoco,
Ngob' uCoco ngimbonile,
Obephuma lapha kwaSodlabela,*

he describes his experience in associative images which, when analysed, present great difficulty in explanation, for the poet makes use mainly of private and personal imagery. This creates symbols and figures of speech which embody for him a certain complex emotional experience, which he seems to use in most of his lines as emotional shorthand. And because such a language has been used by a Zulu poet, to a common reader his work is generally incomprehensible until it is interpreted. This will be revealed by the literal translation of the lines above—

"O Dingane ! there is the deep pool of Mavivane !
The deep and silent pool is inviting,
It has drowned a man who took his bath,
He disappeared with his head-ring,
Because Coco (Mr. Head-ring) is the man I saw,
He who had come from Sodlabela."

Dingane was a silent king, and his silence reminded the poet of the silent deep water of rivers, which often drown those who bathe in them. But the men who drown themselves in Mavivane sink very slowly until the water covers their head-rings. The word *isicoco* (head-ring) conjures up another image in the poet's mind, that of a man called *Coco* who came from one of Shaka's regimental kraals. This man was destroyed by Dingane, for it was a Zulu custom to kill all the favourites of the dead king, especially those who showed signs of insubordination. From a very short passage much history and a lengthy meaning may be revealed ; and that is why I use the phrase " emotional shorthand." Perhaps this " emotional shorthand " prompted Professor G. P. Lestrade to write in the *Critic* (October, 1935), " It may be sufficient to indicate here that the language is in general difficult and obscure, that a very large number of words and phrases occur the true meaning of which is no longer known, that many archaic forms present themselves ; that the construction of sentences tends to be laconic and staccato, and that the poems are all extremely rich in allusions whose significance has been lost in course of time, or whose meaning has been preserved only indifferently."

Interpretation is not only required for the old poems, but even for those of today composed by primitive poets. King Solomon died only in 1933, and his poet is still living and has composed in the same vein as the bards of the 19th Century. The only difference is that the symbols used involve some modern concepts of life and western conditions, but they rest on the background of the Zulu heroic age—

*ULanga lisahlule-madoda !
Sesingamavikithi.*

UMpondo zinde, zingangamagudw' ezinyathi !

Then in winding up the same poem there occur these two lines :

*Incuncw' ephuza kwezid' iziziba
Ingaphuza kwezimfushane, ibuya nodaka.¹*

Though this poem was composed in modern times, the primitive and creative imagination is typically the same, and even symbolic phrases seem to be borrowed from the poems of old kings of the first half of the

¹ Literal translation of the five lines :

" The sun has exhausted us, O men !
We are now totally worn out.

He is like unto the horns of buffaloes
from which we carve our smoking-horns !

The sun-bird which drinks in deep silent waters,
Should it drink from shallow waters,
it would be besmeared with mud."

19th century. The "sun" here stands for the White races, and the poet advises the Zulus to lay down their iron weapons. Yet though warlike, the Zulus will console themselves with their king, whose beauty will remind them of times of peace when men sit down and smoke from expensive buffalo horns. It may be added here that common men smoke from horns of cattle. It is true, the meanings of such poems are often hidden, and a Native who recites them composes or memorises one poem as an indivisible entity, where the first line recalls the whole series until the whole poem is recited. The European field-worker is said to be faced with a most difficult task when he tries to get an explanation of Bantu poems, because the Native will not break his poem and recite it from any angle required by the recorder; and the Native will further fail to disentangle the poem into its elementary parts. I think this fact again led Professor Lestrade, in the article quoted above, to say that the difficulty of explanation of these poems is "partly on account of the peculiar working of the Bantu mind, which is not analytical and not direct, and which often has great difficulty in grasping that the European mind wants an analytical and direct approach to questions and text-renderition." By this I think he means to convey the idea that, whereas the European poet although appreciative of the meaning of the whole poem, would still be able to see the poem as a sequence of ideas, each playing its part and capable of being rendered separately by means of sentences or part sentences, the Native mind would treat the poem essentially as a whole, the parts having very little meaning as such, and not being consciously analysed out as parts.

Here I wonder if those people blessed with training and the acquisition of scientific knowledge do not expect too much from the untampered mind of a primitive Bantu man, who has all his knowledge in his head and not on book-shelves. Again I think the working of a Bantu-poet's mind, in reciting a poem as an unanalysable entity, presents good food for thought to the "Gestalt" school of psychologists, who have deeply interested themselves in the working of the brain in memory work. They advance the theory that the recalling of a part of a whole tends to bring to memory the whole thing to which the part has reference. A "gestalt" is a configuration or a pattern characteristic of a given experience, not fragmentary or a partial experience. It is more than the sum total of its parts or its component stimuli. It possesses unique properties of its own that its separate parts do not possess. This may be the mental make-up of a Bantu poet's mind, when he tries to explain or compose his poems. Therefore the stooping of the superior mind to the level of the illiterate mind, which fails to conceive of the demands and desires of the superior mind, will be the task of the field-worker. After all it is the field-worker's duty to absorb information by such channels as are directly

applicable to the subjects with whom he works his cases. Even besides trying to analyse the mind of a Bantu man, we find a peculiar working of the poet's mind once it receives its inspiration. Elizabeth Drew in her "Discovering Poetry" writes :—"When he is possessed by the need to write poetry, the poet only exists with great difficulty and distress in the actual and factual world about him. His mind is not functioning in that world : he is a stranger there. For the passion and power generate in him unknown modes of being. And it is this sense of unknown modes of being, this faculty for revealing things to the mind in relationships which are hidden in normal experience, which is the innermost secret of poetic genius." This quotation seems to apply to the illiterate poet, who, seized with the passion of his love for the King cannot contain himself, but cries out, for instance—

*UNdaba ngiyameba, ngimuka naye,
Ngimbuka kwehle nezinyembezi,
Sengathi ngibuk' isihlahla somdlebe.*

But these lines come straight from the poet's heart. He has no conception of them as they would appear written. The written poem, of which the educated poet feels the need, always gives him time to reveal his thoughts with accuracy, and to be able to pass criticism on his own works. The illiterate man has not this advantage, but composes from pure and primitive inspiration. He has no ability to pass self-criticism, which I believe came into being only when man discovered the art of writing. No wonder, therefore, that the illiterate mind appears not to be analytic and direct.

* * * *

Poetry should be charged with emotion ; it should also bespeak a child's gift of seeing and interpreting things with absolute clarity and concentration. The three Zulu lines above are examples of this quality at its best. The lines have another quality of poetry, that poetry does not persuade the mind by logic but appeals to the emotion. The submissive yet devoted look of a subject viewing his monarch is portrayed in *Ngiyameba, ngimuka naye*. The poet literally steals his king and departs with him. The emotions derived from the satisfaction and joy of this look evoke tears in the subject, hence the poet says, *Ngimbuka kwehle nezinyembezi*.

On reading such primitive lines or verses one cannot fail to be convinced that real originality is best seen in a traditional setting, where lies the material for the genius. This traditional setting is the bed-rock of inspiration, and therefore in itself it is poetry in primitive creation.

In the following lines from the *ingoma* :

Inqobo yethu yokutholwa
Ngangingenje.
Wo, heyiya hhe ! !

we are reminded of Ruth as " she stood in tears amid the alien corn," and at once we are made to realise what Charles Williams describes as " our own capacity for enduring exile." But then the Zulus conquered races and destroyed all the grown-up men in order to alleviate the task of welding all such conquered races into one solid nation. In the *ingoma* the subjugated races sing through their poets, remembering the days of old which can come back no more, hence the line :

Ngangingenje (I am not what I used to be).

* * * *

Another quality of poetry is *Rhythm*.

By Rhythm is meant the recurrence of similar movements, sounds and so on, at regular intervals. In some languages it is marked off by stressed and unstressed syllables. It will be noticed that in reading a piece of prose, only intellectual and emotional life are appealing ; but there seems to be something more in poetry. While intellectual and emotional life are required, in addition there is rhythmic life, this life being the most important of all according to many critics. Rhythm has been found to be regular in both Classic and European literatures, so that it has been studied and has become somewhat mechanical. Dactylic hexameter is the outward form of Greek and Latin epics. Commenting on English Rhythm, Watts-Dunton in his " Poetry and Renaissance of Wonder " says that Iambic movement states as its primary function, whereas anapaestic and dactylic movements suggest and lighten as their primary function. He advances that the anapaestic and dactylic verse must be obtrusively alliterative in order to avoid a pebbly effect. He says : " The anapaestic line is so full of syllables that in a language where the consonants dominate the vowels (as in English) these syllables grate against each other unless their corners are artfully bevelled by one of the only two smoothing processes at the command of an English versifier—obtrusive alliteration, or an obtrusive use of liquids."

Zulu has none of these outward decorations. The primitive poet did not think of reducing his words to written form, but composed as he was impelled by inward inspiration. It is only today that linguistic scholars are trying to discover the basis on which primitive Bantu poetry rests. A perfect metrical scheme as found in Classic, and with some disciples of this scheme in European poetry is secondary, it is acquired through study and training.

For the sake of stimulating more scientific study and research work in Bantu poetry I have analysed one poem in detail, and checked my results with another poem of a different type. I have made the phonetic mouth-tracings of the whole poem, and divided it according to how the poem was recited to me with a slow movement. From the oral recitation of the poet I discovered that a unit of poetry or verse in Zulu is a breath-group of words. Allow the poet to recite slowly, and he will always breathe at certain intervals, and inhale before starting on another verse. But if you allow the poet to be carried away with ecstasy, he may take two verses in one breath. Further, if you notice very intently, you will detect in the middle of the verse a very short break, which I would mark with a caesura. Then the verse is composed of two rhythmic parts, each of which may have one or more stressed sounds, accompanied by unstressed ones. Each of the component parts of a verse or breath-group, I prefer to call a "poetic bar." Thus the Zulu poem is a series of poetic bars occurring in pairs in a verse. Again one thing noticeable is that the initial syllable of the first verse in a Zulu poem is stressed. This point reminds one of musical beats, where the first note must be emphasized more than the succeeding ones in a measure. We must remember that we have not touched on the matter of stanza. My definition of stanza in primitive Zulu poetry is determined by the poet's treatment of his subject-matter under separate headings, which govern the prose writer in determining his paragraphs. For instance in the poem *UNdaba ngiyameba, ngimuka naye*, etc., I have placed asterisks between stanzas. You will notice when you follow the subject-matter that there does not seem to be a systematic treatment of the main theme so as to form one complete and analysable vista. There is lack of perfect continuous description of a mood. The poet seems to ramble without control over his subject-matter. But looking at it objectively, the whole poem is "laconic and staccato," the gaps between different treated headings demand mental experience of the whole poem before the analysing of its contents. Something needs to be filled in before the whole of the poem is discernible. When I read a primitive poem and come on a gap, there I discover the end of my stanza. Some of these stanzas will be long and some will be very short, according to the mood of the poet as he treats a particular heading in his poem. Stanzas in primitive Zulu poetry are like lights shed on a sculptured work from different angles. These lights operate independently of one another, but yet bring into relief the whole picture which the artist presents in carving. Lights are generally hidden from the on-lookers, but their effect to the eye and mind bring perfect unity in their very difference. The primitive poet in tackling his theme acts like an exhibitor of sculpture in the arrangement of lights. The piece of sculpture and the lights are one configuration indivisible as a mental setting which induces an aesthetic sense. Analysis can only be reached

	No. of Stressed Sounds.
$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & : & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & : & \cdot \\ \text{Malume ziyamlum} & // & \text{'umalokazana} \end{array}$	2+2
$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & : & \cdot & \cdot & : \\ \text{Ziyamesab} & // & \text{'ubusilw} & \text{'esinovalo} \end{array}$	1+2
$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & : & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & : \\ \text{Zesab} & \text{'umalokazana}, \end{array}$	2
$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & : & \cdot & : \\ \text{Zimesaba} & // & \text{nans} & \text{'ingengema}. \end{array}$	1+2

Literal Translation :

MCAYI THE DAUGHTER OF VUMA

" She's like a ball which rolls to and fro.

She's generous to strangers as well as family members.

She is the strong woman who inspires men.

She's like unto a snake coil'd at the gate,

And denies entrance to cows and their calves.

She's the smart woman with a combination of two colours,

As she fights between the striped and the white.

She's as tall as legs of children.

Can mealies be boiled on rocks,

While fire is kindled by wild buck ?

Even the mamba feared and slipped away cautiously from tree tops.

Her mealie-fields are ploughed near her lover's home

So that he should see and choose her.

She plays tricks upon tricksters :

Let those who can tame her try to do so, even with grinding stones.

O, my uncle, the cattle hate the bride,

They fear she's a wild beast,

They fear the bride,

They fear her, behold here comes the mighty one."

There are nineteen lines, and their stanza arrangement is in couplets interposed by single lines. The whole poem is ended with a four-line stanza. The arrangement of the lines themselves gives a rhythmical and musical pattern, e.g. *aa b* ; *aa aa b* ; *aa b* ; *aa aa* ; *cc cc*. The quatrain combines the rhythm of sound alliteration in using the nasals and the words *ziyesaba* and *malokazana*.

The florid usage of the fricative alveolars *z* and *s*, and the nasals is apparent in the whole poem and gives a rumbling and hissing effect, which lends charm to the Bantu ear, especially in a theme of love as treated in this poem. The nasals give the smoothness and easy flow,

which marks ideal and devoted love of women to their husbands. That the nasals mostly stand for smoothness and continuity, will be shown in examining the onomatopoeic ideophones, where continuity of state or action is depicted e.g. of raining or crying continuously, *mu-u-u* ; of bleating (goats), *me-e-e* ; of lowing (cattle), *mo-o-o* ; of plasticity, sticking fast, *ne* ; of spreading out in all directions, *niki* ; of running continuously, *mvenene*, and so on.

Scholars have discovered that Bantu languages are mostly disyllabic in their stems, and that any stem with more than two syllables will naturally be derived. Working from this principle, the metrical basis of rhythm in Zulu will naturally be dactylic. But there are so many derivative words with added syllables to which this does not apply, that Zulu will range between dactylic and trochaic metres. To be demonstrative, the poet will always use a dactylic verse to begin his narrative, and in this break the law of penultimate stress. When he has well controlled his audience, he seems to play with their emotions when he changes from dactyo-trochaic verse to the anapaestic, e.g. in the 12th line. Here the poet seems to answer to Watts-Dunton's claim that the anapaestic line should be smoothed by obstrusive alliteration or an obstrusive use of liquids. The lines following this anapaestic line are full of liquids and alliterated words, e.g. *Mgunqubezi kaMgunqubezi*, and *Xhantabezi*, and *xhantabeza*.

The rhythmic pattern of the poem rests on the regular arrangement of poetic bars on each side of the caesura. In each poetic bar there are two stressed syllables which may either suggest a dactyl or a trochee. This arrangement in the analysed poem persists up to the eighth line when the poet changes the metrical system and introduces three stressed syllables before the caesura and two after it ; and in the tenth line there are three stressed syllables, one after the caesura. Again in the eleventh line he has the same rhythm as line nine, and then switches on to the old rhythm in the twelfth line. He continues like that for three lines and then again brings in the rhythm of line nine. The lines of the quatrain are a wonderful variation. They are a summary, i.e. 2, 2 ; 1, 2 ; 2 ; 1, 2. A rhythm like this is very suggestive. Working on the principle that Zulu words are disyllabic in nature, and that the stress falls on the penult then all disyllabic words will be very regular, e.g.

Iwa } (— u)
Wáthi }

Trisyllabic words will also be regular, e.g.

ukúlwá } (u — u)
améva }

A four-syllabled word may shift its stresses in the syllables before the penultimate so that in such words we get the variation of rhythm. One may have either of the following arrangements :

(u u — u)

or

(— u — u)

In the same word there may be two stresses or only one. E.g.

^ˉu^ˉu^ˉu^ˉ or u^ˉu^ˉu^ˉu^ˉ.

The stress on the penultimate is unshiftable.

In words with five syllables the same rule applies ; one may begin with a stressed syllable followed by two unstressed, the two remaining being stressed and unstressed ; or one may begin with the unstressed followed by two pairs of stressed and unstressed syllables, e.g.

^ˉu^ˉu^ˉu^ˉu^ˉ or u^ˉu^ˉu^ˉu^ˉu^ˉ.

This method of scanning, if followed, will go far to solve the problem of a metrical system in Zulu poetry, and will also explain the great variation in the rhythmic pattern of poetry composed by educated poets. After all, the style of educated poets has to be modelled and cultivated. Men cannot spring up overnight and find themselves accomplished poets. They have to study the standards of Classic or European poetry which will help to rouse in them the finer and deeper feelings of every impact of the outer world upon their poetic souls. They have to model their styles upon those of previous writers, and strike at last a style of their own work in it, and bring it to perfection.

If lyric poetry was originally intended to be sung, then this quality of poetry still exists in Zulu. The poet has to tune his voice to some melody when he recites his imaginative descriptions. Tone in Zulu is semantic. This semanticism of tone, though wide in the spoken language is more apparent in the recitation of verse. For this reason the phonetic script of some pieces of Zulu verse is most desirable, and with such script the method of indicating tone should be discovered. This is a special problem of tonetics. Another queer feature of Zulu poetry is found in the concords of personified nouns. Zulu poetry speaks in terms of phrases and employs a purposive confusion of concords. This is only found with words which are personified and used as nouns of Class I (a). In the first line of the poem I am analysing you will find *USijikane siyapha siyajika*. One would expect the concord to agree with *uSijikane* of Class I(a), but the poet remembers he has personified the inanimate *isijikane*

and therefore gives it its colour in the verbal concord by using (*si-*). Many are examples of this nature, e.g.

- (a) *UZulu ladum' obala*
*Lapha kungemunga, kungemthole.*¹
- (b) *UZinsonge zingaphesheya koThukela,*
*UMwelela kweliphesheya.*²
- (c) *UMpondo zamil' enjeni,*
*Ngingabonange ngiyibon' imil' izimpondo.*³

Where the European poet uses a simile, the Zulu poet will use a metaphor. The wrong concord brings a metaphorical idea while the English translation demands a simile, e.g. *UZulu ladum' obala*, literally, "Mr. Storm *which* thunders in open country," meaning, "He is like a storm that thunders in open country."

The usage of concords in the above manner is a special licence of poetry applicable only to nouns of class I (a), which otherwise would belong to some ordinary non-personal class. Sometimes the whole poem may be a phrase; but it thus emphasises better the sentiment, than a long poem conforming to sentence rules, e.g.

UMalunguz' emgodini kuvel' injiki,
Qhina lakithi lakoMpampini,
Abathi bayalibamba laphunyula.

Umthapheya-thusi,
Zitho zimbobo ingan' exendlovu,
*Zimchilibela.*⁴

II. POETIC GENRES IN ZULU

If the existence of poetry in Zulu has been proved there remains the study of poetic divisions. The best thing is to give such divisions their Zulu names.

1. *Izibongo* are composed on certain ceremonial occasions in honour of some important personage, like a king, hero, queen, or woman of

¹ From Zulu *kaNogandaya*.

² From *Ndlela kaSompisi*.

³ From *Dinizulu*.

⁴ *Literal translation:*

"She who peeps into a hole and a bird flies out,
Steinbok of our Mpampini kraal,
Which escaped when they tried to catch it.
Wearer of brass bands,
Legs which are fleshy,
Though the elephant's are heavy and thick."

beauty. They are composed in phrases or in long verses treating of historical episodes or expressing the poet's imaginings :—

Phrase Stanza : “ *UGubudle kaNomantshali,
Umthungi wembeng' ebanzi.
Angathung' ezincane, ziyabekelana.*”¹

Long Verse : “ *Uhlaza lwang' inyongo yembuzi.
Uvemvane lukaPhunga,
Lumabal' azizinge, sengath' abekiwe.
Umzixim' ongamathunz' entaba,
Khona kuhlwa, kuhamb' abathakathi.*”
*Inqayinqayi kaPhunga noMageba,
Engibuke ngaze ngayejwayela.
UMasengo mahle, inkonyane yenkomo,
Kwangixaka ukukhaba kwalenkomo,
Yakhab' oyisengayo, yadel' umbambi.
Umoya womzansi, womngenela
Ohleze ubangela nangomnyango.*

This poem is an extract from a very long episode on Shaka, a portion of which has already been quoted elsewhere : “ *UNdaba ngiyameba, ngimuka naye.*” One thing noteworthy about the whole poem is the height of its lyric quality ; it reminds one of the present European attitude to poetry which tends to become autobiographic. The poem is, as it were, the historic record of a soul in its burning moments, absorbing passion and thrill of rapture. The poet sees nature with a penetrating and revealing glance, and from her draws his inspiration for the stuff of his poem, and excels in witchery of language ; for instance “ *Uhlaza lwang' inyongo yembuzi* ” is symbolic of purity and freshness, for greenness (*uhlaza*) stands for moral purity. There is nothing greener than the contents of a goat's gall-bladder, hence he says, “ The greenness which kisses (excels, approaches) that of goat's gall-bladder.” Among green things one often meets a butterfly (*uvemvane*) ; but this butterfly belongs to Phunga (Shaka's great-grandfather). Its colour is deep like the shadows of mountains at sunset. These shadows are the forerunners of witches and wizards. The whole poem is full of ecstasy of feeling and perfect imagery.

The poem sheds light on Shaka's character, and his best quality of a strong moral tone stands out foremost. I have always been greatly opposed to judging primitive moral character by civilised and Christian standards. For a cultural or national conscience, like knowledge, is a thing which grows with experience, and, in the same way as we get our

¹ From Stuart's *uThulasizwe*, p. 11.

knowledge from our environment, so we get our conscience, to a great extent, from our social environment ; but our conscience does not take its rise from the environment, there must be at least the germ, the possibility of conscience in our original nature.

Izibongo are composed also on animals, rivers, natural objects, and so on :—

- (a) *Bull* : *UBukuda kwesinengwenya*, He who bathes among crocodiles,
Ingweny' ingamnaki, The crocodiles will not attack him,
Inak' amagweb' akhe. They care for his bubbles.
- (b) *Hunting Dog* :
Umqali wa-ngwazi He who spears first.
Abantu baphakathi ; Although men are there ;
Umashing' abuye nedlokolo. A naughty man, he comes back with a spear.
- (c) *Train* : *Hamba, mtolotolo !* Go on, thou noisy one !
Hamba, Phuz' abant' amaphika ! Go on, thou fast runner !
Kade wabalahla, For long thou didst lose them,
Eabuyisel' ezindaweni zabo. Bring them back to their homes.
- (d) *Spear* : *USigwinya-mkhonto nothi* Swallower of spear and its shaft,
lwawo,
UMmemezi kaZulu, He who announces the Zulu,
Uhlabane bemgqiba. He whose achievements are hidden.

2. *Amahubo* (Songs): Most of these are war-dance and ceremonial songs. There is no difference in spirit of composition between them, as the Zulus are a nation accustomed to associate dance and song. Any occasion or ceremony had to be marked with dancing and singing, which breathed a vital spirit of emotion in the ceremony. These were broken at intervals with "*Izibongo*" which were in harmony with the rhythm of the dance. I mean something like what the English poet W. H. Auden has written specially for movies. The poem is read during the showing of a film depicting the passage of a night mail train to the north of England. The verse, like the film, follows the progress of the train through village and valley, both in its details and in its sounds. It is exciting to watch dawn moving over the dark northern hills and over the disturbed waters, and to hear it appropriately described in strong verse. It seems quite logical that though emotion may often be adequately

expressed by dance rhythm, it finds its fullest expression or satisfaction in poetry which has always been used by all nations as the outlet and the curb for the utterance of human passions. The verse used is often highly rhythmic and onomatopoeic.

(a) *War Dance* :

Wagedaged' izizwe ; " The nations he hath scattered far ;
Uyakuhlaselaphi na ? Whither shall he now wage war ?
Wahlul' amakhosi ; The rulers he hath defeated ;
Uhlaselaphi na ? Whither does he now wage war ?
Eyiya he ! he ! *Eyiya he ! he !* "

The final line is a dance rhythm, a sort of a war-cry that may be prolonged without music, but rhythmic speech answering to the dance step.

(b) *Dance Song*—After a great victory :

Lezo-nkomo zimbala-muni na ?
Zinomland' omkhulu lezo-nkomo.
Wo hahe ! ajiji ! ajiji !

" What mean the varied hues of yonder kine ?
 Their owners' sins have thereby marked them mine.
Wo hahe ! ajiji ! ajiji ! "

(c) *Ceremonial—Burial Song* :

Vuma uphansi umkhonto wezinsizwa,
Nesilo sengwababane ;
Wawungekho Mashiya-nkomo,
Vuma uphansi umkhonto wezinsizwa.

" Come let us sing of fallen heroes and spears,
 Of the bad omens of black crows ;
 For you and I were not there Mashiya-nkomo."

The last Zulu word refers to those who have come back alive, for they are suspected of having run away and left cattle behind. Mashiya-nkomo means Mr. Leave-cattle-behind.

3. *Imidunduzelo* (Lullabies) : These are nursery songs, sung by nurses as they carry the babies on their backs, inducing them to sleep or to stop crying.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (i) <i>Thula mntwana,</i> | " Baby, stop crying, |
| <i>Mus' ukulil'</i> | Stop crying. |
| <i>Umam' akakho,</i> | Thy mother is absent, |
| <i>Uzakufika.</i> | She'll soon be here. |
| <i>Unan' uNogenqe ?</i> | Is it (baby) feverish ? |
| <i>Unan' uNogenqe ?</i> | Is it feverish ? " |

- (ii) *Uphetheni ngomlomo?* "What carriest thou in thy mouth
Ngipheth' amas' omntwana. I'm carrying baby's sour milk.
Uwayisa ngaphi? Where goest thou with it?
Ngwayisa kwaZincengele, etc. I go to the beggar's home, etc.
- (iii) *Qhuwegha weqhuwegha,* (The combination of clicks put
Qhingqilithi qhi! etc. into song is meant to teach
 children correct pronunciation.)

Many are such nursery songs, and they are heard sung all over the wilds of Zululand. Most of them have found their way into civilised communities, where the Zulus live under European conditions. A collection of these would serve a great purpose in preserving material for the much needed Native kindergarten schools.

4. *Imilozi* (Bird-cries, animal-cries, the sound of a running train, etc.): This is another great branch of poetry about which very little is known. The Bantu in general have a wonderful ear for sound imitation. Anything that gives a natural sound rouses interest in them, and it is no wonder that many animals and objects have received their names from the cry or sound they make.

- (a) *Train*: This has three variations of sounds. When it starts from a station or pulls uphill it says—

<i>Ngathath' indoda,</i>	"I steal a man,
<i>Ngathath' ikhehla,</i>	And take a man.
<i>Mafushane, phum' endlini,</i>	Mafushane, come outside,
<i>Mafushane, bem' igudu.</i>	Mafushane, smoke your pipe."

Running on the level it says—

<i>Bakithi, ngahlupheka,</i>	"Fellow-men, I'm in trouble,
<i>Kukude la siyakhona.</i>	Our destination is far away."

When arriving at its destination it says —

<i>Ngikhathele, ngahlupheka,</i>	"I'm tired, how I've suffered,
<i>Ngahlupheka, Wozanini!</i>	I'm worried, come and meet me.

- (b) *Bird Songs*: Sweeter than the sounds of running trains are songs of birds in a forest. I shall try to give a few hereunder.

(i) *Insingizi* (Ground horn-bill):

Female: *Ngimuke, ngiye kithi.*
Male: *Ukusutha konke lokho.*
F.: *Ngiyamuka, ngiyamuka, ngiya kwabethu.*
M.: *Hamba, hamba, kad' usho.*

- F. : " Let me go back to my people.
 M. : That is your reaction to my good treatment.
 F. : Now I am going away, I'm departing for my people,
 M. : Depart, depart, you are a bother."

(ii) *Ihobe* (Wild dove):

Trrr ! trrr ! trrr ! " *Trrr ! trrr ! trrr !*
Amdokwe, amdokwe, They are ripe, they are ripe,
Amabele avuthiwe, The corn-fields are ripe,
Amabele avuthiwe. The corn-fields are ripe."

(iii) *Iboboni* (Bush-shrike):

Kwaf' ubaba, angabikelwa ; " My father died, I was not told ;
Kwaf' umame, angabikelwa ; My mother died, I was not told ;
Inhliziyo yami ithi My heart now is
To, toto, totototo ! Paining, paining and paining !

(iv) *UMabengwane* (Woodford's owl):

Mgudugudu, we, mabengwane, " All of a sudden, they shout at me,
Vuk' ungibule, vuk' ungibule ! Wake up, wake up, and smell me
 out !
Woza, woza, Mabengwane ; Come, o come, Mabengwane ;
Mgudugudu, we, Mabengwane ! Suddenly, I answer, Yes,
 Mabengwane ! "

The charm of all these bird-songs does not lie in the choice of words in which they are spoken or written, but in their simple and direct imitation of the bird depicted. The tone, its pitch and musical blending to produce the effect of a bird's story, is the charm of these bird-songs. The rhythm is again different from that of other songs and the *izibongo*. The bird-songs cannot be sung ; they are meant to interpret human feelings through the mouths of birds, or to bring about a theomachy of personifications where some ethical qualities are vaguely expressed. I wonder if such a personification was not responsible for the definition of poetry given by Simonides in classical life, i.e. poetry is vocal painting. Perhaps still better, poetry is vocal carving. The painter is concerned with one angle of his imaginative picture, whereas a poet reduces his picture into stanza form and presents his art in all its perspective and emotional angles. But here again we must be careful to remember that the Greek and Latin theomachy of personifications represented the conflict of ethical qualities, as Athens stands for the mind or wisdom ; Aphrodite, desire and passion ; and Ares, brute force. When I look at these animal songs, I see great possibility of creating from them some excellent verses wherein the name of the bird depicted may be turned into a symbol of virtue or vice. An adaptation of this nature opens a wide field for future Zulu poets to

incorporate in their works the spiritual world of ancestral religion which is not touched at all in the primitive poetry.

Primitive poetry, of course, has always been thought of in terms of *izibongo* ; but this view is wrong, for the *izibongo* are but one department of a great field of poetry. The word "poetry" in Zulu or in other Southern Bantu languages has not been thought of seriously. For this reason I disapprove of the name "praises" for "poetry" in Zulu. I would suggest the word *Ixosha* (singular *isosha*). This name was given to me by an old man, who explained it as meaning anything composed and meant to be recited or sung. The word *ixosha* seems to me to cover the whole field of what may be considered poetry: *izibongo* (praise poems), *imidunduzelo* (lullabies) and *imilozi* (bird-songs, etc.).

In looking at primitive Zulu poetry I do not hold metrical composition to be *per se* poetical. I concentrate more on the spiritual content, and not so much on the technique of poetry. Metrical composition, of course, gives to poetry a complete realisation of adequate expression, and therefore some form of rhythm and outward decoration has to be found. After all, poetry is art. And the end of art is to create or reveal beauty. Beauty is the aesthetic fact which must give aesthetic pleasure. And a poet, in composing his poetry, somewhat in an unconscious way weaves a piece of tapestry, developed on the outside (the reader's side), and also reflects to himself a pattern of knots and tangles from within for his own delectation. I believe that no perfect poet composes with a view to conscious communication of his emotions. This would defeat the belief that "great things of poetry exist purely and simply in their own right, and independent of man." Great poets had not the impulse to communicate anything to others, but they shaped certain things to make immortality for their own sakes. When the primitive Zulu poet cries:—

*Kuyof' abantu, kusal' izibongo,
Izibongo ziyosala zibalilel' emanxiweni !*

" People may die, but their praises will remain on
their graves, mourning in their deserted villages ! "

he perceives such an immortality outside himself, but in his own work which he has shaped. Milton says in his *Areopagitica*, "Many a man lives a burden to the earth ; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

The primitive Zulu poet cannot claim this at all. But he has left, as it were, a bedrock of inspiration for the coming generation. Already his influence begins to be felt on the educated posterity, who, I believe, will perfect certain types of the old literary art and then produce masterpieces,

III. MODERN INFLUENCES IN ZULU POETRY

History takes a new turn in South Africa when Black meets White. The advent of the White man, which marks a new epoch in the history of the Zulus, has had far-reaching effects on his new outlook on life. His contact with the so-called western civilisation has changed even the springs of his emotions. The first "feel" of the new epoch came through religion. The religious system of the Zulus does not differ very much from the highest forms of religion found in European civilisation. But owing to misinterpretations by some writers the real facts have been lost, and the informants in both social and political systems of the Zulus are very subjective, i.e. they give what the White anthropologist wants them to give, and not what they know to be the truth. The diverse interpretations of a Christianity given by the White man have brought dissatisfaction among the Black races, and in our midst we have had the great prophets Ntsikana and Shembe. The Zionist movement, to which Shembe belonged, has greatly influenced the religious outlook of the Natives in town, and to-day has the largest numbers of Natives in Johannesburg locations alone. There seems to be a secret behind this. The followers of the Zionist movement have incorporated into their services most of the first-fruits ceremonial observances in the purification of priest or king, colourful dresses and community singing, mixed with dancing, consisting largely in rhythmical raising of the feet, thundering stamp upon the ground, and a series of grotesque shuffles, interspersed with vigorous leaps by the leaders of groups. This has an attraction for the average Native, and he eagerly supports such a movement, for he has an active part to play, besides the priest.

The coming of Missionary bodies with a new religion in 1835 necessitated a new form of songs. I consider European religious music to be the first appeal to a Black man's new poetic powers. His whole imaginative setting had to be re-adjusted, and his musical emotions moderated or sublimated, not to be expressed in the thundering stamp of feet, but to bear a spiritual interpretation, the body playing very little part. The Christian era had nothing to do with *izibongo*, but appealed to *amahufo*.

In all places where Christian civilisation has been implanted among savage and primitive people, song has played a great part. It is not surprising therefore that among the Zulus the sons and daughters of those men, who received Christianity very early, at once undertook the work of translation by adopting foreign hymns into Zulu verse, and not only they, but the White missionaries themselves. We have only two Zulu composers of hymns on record. In the "*Amagama okuhlabelela*" (Zulu hymns) published by the American Zulu Mission, the Rev. P. J. Gumede

has contributed six hymns, the best among them being No. 264 "*UJesu uyabiza*." Mr. N. Luthuli, the present editor of the *Ilanga laseNatal* has contributed two songs. Luthuli, though himself a better musician, does not show Gumede's brilliancy in hymns. His musical taste is very high, but it does not shine in the hymns. After these two there is a great break, up to now. The field of hymns seems to be dead. The example which was set by American Board missionaries was not rivalled by other bodies. Even at this present time it seems to be impossible to publish hymns originally composed by the Bantu.

There are songs which appeal to Bantu people because of their religious melody, even though the words are not sung or known. The Bantu people generally are very musical. And in songs which have been translated by Miss Charlette B. Grout, one catches a glimpse of what music can do in rousing the feelings of men. Poetry appeals to human nature in the same way as good religious music rouses immortality in the soul. When Miss Grout made her selections for translation she seems to have had a gift for poetry. In her song "*Mangibe njengo Jesu*" (I want to be like Jesus) the versification is very suggestive :

<i>Mangibe njengo Jesu,</i>	" Let me be like Jesus,
<i>Wayengothobileyo ;</i>	He was the humble One,
<i>Kuhle ngibe njengaye,</i>	I ought to resemble Him,
<i>Wayengothambileyo.</i>	He was the tame One.
<i>Mangibe njengo Jesu</i>	Let me be like Jesus,
<i>Ngamazwi onke ami,</i>	In all my words,
<i>Ngibeke kahle kuye,</i>	I ought to copy well from Him,
<i>Lithambe izwi lami.</i>	And my voice be soft."

There is the repetition of the verse "*Mangibe njengo Jesu*" at the beginning of every stanza, and one thing noteworthy is her attempt at rhyming lines. Her rhyme system is abcb.

Religious poetry seems to be sweeter when certain lines are repeated and act as an undercurrent of deep emotion. The Rev. Gumede, in his song No. 264, has used the same style as Miss Grout. There is a melancholy tone in his music as well as in his versification, and his song ranks among the best in the book, e.g.

<i>UJesu uyabiza,</i>	" Jesus is calling,
<i>Wozake, moni.</i>	Come then, O Sinner.
<i>Uyazibiz' izoni,</i>	He calls to sinners,
<i>Wozake, Moni.</i>	Come then, O sinner.
<i>Kuyilithub' elihle,</i>	It is a good chance,
<i>Wozake, moni.</i>	Come then, O sinner.
<i>Kuyisikhathi manje.</i>	It is good time.
<i>Wozake, moni.</i>	Come then, O sinner.

<i>Sewuyasindwa yini?</i>	Are you burdened ?
<i>Wozake, moni.</i>	Come then, O sinner.
<i>Uyakukuphumuza,</i>	He will give you rest,
<i>Wozake, moni.</i>	Come then, O sinner.
<i>UJesu kakhohlisi,</i>	Jesus never deceives,
<i>Wozake, Moni.</i>	Come then, O sinner.
<i>Uyakunik' ubomi,</i>	He will give you joy,
<i>Wozake, moni.</i>	Come then, O sinner."

Notice that the author repeats *Wozake, moni*, after every line with wonderful effect, as it were an invocation. It cannot be assumed here that the Zulus who sang these hymns noticed the rhyming and alliteration as pointed. Even when most of the Zulus had gone through some appreciable standard of education, those who have studied the system of Native Education up to about 1930 in Natal and Zululand, will agree with me that students were not introduced to the spirit of poetry. The only poetry, which they could recite like parrots, was English. The writer remembers how at College in a class of over 30, they were made to recite Tennyson's "Half a League" seventeen years ago, and the method of recitation instilled into his heart great hatred for the poem, and unwarranted suspicion for every work of Tennyson. The teacher did not attempt to instil into our hearts the historical background of the poem and the inspiration breathed into it by the poet. The result was disastrous because we cultivated a dislike for poetry in general. Even for examination purposes we did not have to delve into the spirit of poetry otherwise some of us might have discovered ourselves as poets, or perhaps have learned to love books. We could not differentiate between one writer and another. Such a system of education, I presume, is largely responsible for the lack of continuation of the work begun by Gumede and Luthuli, who themselves may have even forgotten what they did for the beginning of a new era of poetry.

Besides the work of the Church, children were introduced to school life with its own routine. Hymns were the first music taught to them; but later on secular music of a light nature was taught. The most noted English hymn was "There's a stranger at the door." English had to be used. The meaning of the words was not known, but the melody was sweet. Here we find the beginning of the Native educational fallacy. There was implanted in the Native mind that to be educated was to assimilate European standards without gradual absorption or discrimination. Not until lately, when the educational standard was raised, did the Zulus feel the responsibility they had for their culture. They began to look back to the *izibongo*. This looking back was also greatly influenced by Stuart's Zulu books. In these books there are many poems recorded,

and they have done a lot of good in laying the foundation for inspiration to many of the budding poets.

The development of Zulu poetry in future is a great problem, for it has reached a period when there is such a demand for something new. The world is sick and tired of its own European standards and wants something new in literature, and on the stage, and even in music. The mechanism of style that has been adhered to by the dead masters of poetry bores the younger generation. To the Bantu who have been introduced to Western education, the poetic standards of centuries are new. Through such standards he is able to mirror himself in the same way as the Western poets discovered themselves through the study of classic poetry which has had the widest influence on their posterity. By trying to force criticism on the springing poetry of our age, the Western poets unconsciously pass criticism on their own works ; so that they will not be able to claim their works as having been of intrinsic value in influencing other forms of literature. There is no doubt that the poetry of the West will influence all Bantu poetry because all the new ideas of our age have reached us through European standards. But there is something we must not lose sight of. If we imitate the form, the outward decoration which decks the charming poetry of our Western masters, that does not mean to say that we have incorporated into our poetry even their spirit. If we use Western stanza-forms and metrical system we employ them only as vehicles or receptacles for our poetic images, depicted as we see and conceive. Criticism of Bantu poetry to-day confuses " form " and " spirit " of poetry. The latter is very important.

Swahili poetry has modelled its standards from 1783 according to Arab poetry ; but the riper poets have used a striking stanza in composing long poetry. The stanza is a quatrain, the three first lines rhyming, while the last rhymes with all the other ending lines of each stanza in the whole poem. The late Miss Alice Werner writing on Swahili poetry in the " Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies " gives us the two stanzas from " *Shufaka*."

<i>Mbwene hadithi ajabu</i>	" I have seen a wonderful story
<i>Yaandishiwe maktubu</i>	Drawn up in writing
<i>Kusoma kwa kiarabu ;</i>	To read in Arabic—
<i>Maana yakinielea.</i>	The meaning being clear to me.
<i>Niyawenepo chuoni,</i>	When I saw it in the book
<i>Moyo wangu hatamani</i>	My heart desired
<i>Kubadili kimangani</i>	To translate it out of the Arabic
<i>Kwa kisawahili kuioa.</i>	And write it in Swahili."

Notice the ending of the lines of the first stanza in *bu* ; the second in *ni*, and the final lines of both stanzas in *ea* and *ioa* respectively. Steere,

in his preface to "Swahili Tales," criticises such rhyming on the ground that "the rhyme is to the eye more than to the ear, as all the final syllables being unaccented, the prominent sounds often destroy the feeling of rhyme." I am inclined to agree with Steere in such criticism when I look at Zulu, because in rhyming the Bantu syllables one has to take into account the penultimate syllable which not only has prominence to the ear because the succeeding final syllable is generally (in Zulu) devocalised, but also attracts the eye in that the poet will run his rhyming through two syllables: the penultimate and the final.

IV. FUTURE OF ZULU POETRY

I tried to use such a rhyme system when I wrote some of my poems in "*Inkondlo kaZulu*."* I shall illustrate here what I mean by such rhyme.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|---|
| (i) <i>Sengiyokholwa ukuthi sewafa</i> | a |
| <i>Um' ukukhala kwezinyoni zaphezulu</i> | b |
| <i>Nobusuku obughakaz' izinkanyezi zezulu</i> | b |
| <i>Um' inkwezane yokusa nezinkanyezi</i> | c |
| <i>Ezikhanyis' umnyama njengonyezi</i> | c |
| <i>Sezanyamalal' ungunaphakade.</i> | d |

Such a system of rhyming I am trying to develop for Zulu. At the beginning I found it to be rude and forcible; but since that I have composed very smoothly with it, once I have begun my poem and made up my mind in a certain way. By trying to adopt this rhyming I have found that there is a feeling among European critics that Zulu can achieve only a limited success with rhyming, since most of the words in Zulu end in vowels, and thus do not permit variety of sound that makes successful rhyming possible.

This system does not take only the vowel of the penultimate into account but combines such a vowel with its governing consonant, e.g. "*Zulu*" cannot rhyme with "*mulu*" for fricative alveolars have no ear-relation or even phonetic relation with nasal bilabials. Hence Steere's criticism of Swahili rhyming is weighty, and the composer of "*Shufaka*" errs in rhyming in the same way as Miss Grout did in the Zulu hymn quoted above. The rhyme is beautiful to the eye but it grates on the ear. Here then, the question, what consonants have to rhyme, is to be answered.

Before this question is answered, I must first prove the necessity and desirability of rhyme in Zulu. Poetry is art, and the end of art is to create or reveal beauty. Art must have form which is the beauty of the

*Published by the Witwatersrand University Press, in *The Bantu Treasury*.

poem ; that beauty must give aesthetic pleasure to both the writer and the reader. I do not believe in form ; I rely more on the spirit of poetry. Form tends to reduce everything to mechanical standards and mathematical formulae. But we have to use some form to embody or clothe the beautiful spirit of our poetry. We have no definite form so far, and our starting point will be at the standards given us by the Western education we have imbibed at college. We are beginning the work which may be given perfect form in generations to come. After all, our language is old and is fast accumulating new words and concepts. I believe therefore it is absolutely necessary that, in composing some poems, we ought to rhyme and decorate our poetic images with definite stanza forms.

My rhyme system is this : The rhyme begins with the penultimate syllable.

- (a) *Bi-labial Consonants* : *ph, p ; b, ɓ* ; all are perfect rhymes, e.g.
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>iphaba</i> | <i>imboɓo</i> | <i>impuphu</i> |
| <i>uɓaba</i> | <i>upopo</i> | <i>imbuɓu</i> |
| <i>ukuɓaba</i> | | |

I rhyme all these consonants in simple or combined forms except where phonetic changes due to palatalisation have taken place. *M* seems to stand alone, because of nasalisation, whereas other bilabials have implosion and explosion. But when *m* is combined with the other bilabials the rhyming is smooth.

- (b) *Denti-labial Consonants* : Here we have two, the unvoiced *f* and the voiced *v* and these rhyme well, e.g.

<i>vela</i>	<i>fula</i>	<i>wathi fofo</i> , etc.
<i>fela</i>	<i>vula</i>	<i>amavovo</i>

- (c) *Alveolars* : *t, th* and *d* run together, while *s* and *z* agree, and *l* and *r* rhyme. *R* is creeping into the language, and provision for it has to be made.

Examples :

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (i) | <i>amatata</i> | <i>intandi</i> | <i>itwetwe</i> |
| | <i>amathatha</i> | <i>akuntanti</i> | <i>isidwedwe</i> |
| | <i>amadada</i> | | |
| (ii) | <i>umsizi</i> | <i>ukususa</i> | |
| | <i>umzisi</i> | <i>ukuzuza</i> | |
| (iii) | <i>ukwelula</i> | <i>ukulola</i> | |
| | <i>ukurula</i> | <i>ukurolo</i> | |

The nasal alveolar *n* stands by itself.

- (d) *Prepalatals* : *Sh* and *tsh* present some difficulty. Fricative *sh* rhymes well with the alveolar *s* whereas the affricate *tsh*, because of its

ejective pronunciation, differs a lot from *s*. It suggests rather the ejected *t*. In this case I not only rhyme *sh* with *tsh*, but also rhyme *sh* with *s* and *tsh* with *t*. In combination with *n* I would rhyme *ntsh* with *nt* because they are both ejective. *Nt* goes further because it rhymes also with *nd*.

Examples :

ikatshana	ikatshana	isikhashana
isikhashana	ukukwenetana	ufisana

Again the voiced prepalatal *j* raises difficulty. Being a voiced affricate it does not agree with any other unvoiced affricates and, because of its voiced quality, I would either rhyme it with the voiced alveolar *d* which itself, under rules of palatalisation in forming diminutives, changes into *j*. The voiced prepalatal suggests rhyming with the voiced velar *g* in which case I would not hesitate to rhyme the two.

Examples :

- (i) *j* with *d*
 amaJuda ukubeja
 ukududa ukubeda
- (ii) *j* with *g*.
 amaJuda amajele ukugeza
 ukuguda izigele ukujeza

(e) *Velar Consonants* : *K'*, *k*, *kh*, and *g* rhyme very smoothly. The velar semi-vowel *w* stands alone, and I would not suggest rhyming it even when used with vowels. Its suggestiveness of bilabial quality takes it away from the unvoiced glottal fricative *h* with which rhyming would be possible.

Examples of Velars :

amagagasi	ukuguguza
amakhosikazi	ukukhukhusa
amakhasi	ukusukuza

(f) *Glottals* : There are only two ; the fricative unvoiced *h* and the voiced *h*.

Now there remain the click consonants. The basic physiological mechanism of the Zulu click, is in general one. According to Professor C. M. Doke, the Zulu clicks are " produced by the formation of a partial vacuum between the tip and the back of the tongue, so that when the tip or the side (as is the case with the lateral clicks) of the tongue is released from contact with the palate etc., air rushes momentarily into the rarefaction, and causes the smacking sound."¹ In pronouncing a click there

¹Doke's *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 123.

is a forward and a back release. Because of this scientific discovery I do not propose to separate the clicks but to treat them as related.

- (i) The radical and the aspirated forms of the dental, palato-alveolar and lateral clicks could rhyme without differentiation. E.g.

<i>Radical</i>	<i>Aspirated</i>
<i>Icala</i>	<i>ukuchuma</i>
<i>ukuqala</i>	<i>ukuqhuma</i>
<i>ukuxhala</i>	<i>ukuxhuma</i>

- (ii) The voiced click consonants in all combinations would have to rhyme. E.g.

Ukugxuma
Ukugquma.

The reason for my advocacy of rhyme is that in Zulu there are fewer primitive words than derivatives. The derivative formatives are mostly dissyllabic, and some of them rhyme splendidly. The diminutive formative of nouns and the reciprocal formative of verbs rhyme well; the perfective of some verbs in *ela* rhymes with the verbal applied formatives; the augmentative is the same as the feminine formative *kazi*. The language is elastic and because of this quality, I would not give in to those who advance that rhyme is foreign to Zulu. It seems to me there is a feeling for rhyme among the Zulus, when one studies their music in its ending verses, for there will always be recurrence of certain sounds for the sake of rousing emotion.

There is a long poem in my book where this rhyme system has been tried—but without much success—because I disregarded the penultimate consonant in preference to its vowel, and therefore produced the rhyming of final syllables and the vowels preceding such syllables. But this was a mistake which served to confirm my view of rhyme having its beginning in the whole of the penultimate syllable, as in the stanza quoted above. The following from the same publication will illustrate my meaning of a mistaken Zulu rhyme:

<i>Wen' obange namahlathi</i>	" You, who rivalled forests
<i>Abecash' izinyathi</i>	Which hid buffaloes
<i>Wandundulel' amaliba</i>	You, who piled graves upon one another
<i>Wawamba wawagqiba</i>	Digging and covering them
<i>Ngob' ugqilaz' amathongo</i>	You enslave ancestral spirits
<i>Exizwana zakoMhlongo</i>	Of the tribes of the Mhlongo people
<i>Exathi zala namanzi</i>	Who having refused to give you water,

<i>Zanganqob' umhlab' obanzi</i>	Failed to conquer a wide world,
<i>Zithi ngek' ube nenkathi</i>	Thinking that you would have no chance
<i>Yokuzingana njengenhlwathi.</i>	To swallow them like a python."

The future poetry of the Zulus must reflect two things :—

- (i) The indomitable Zulu spirit, which was described by Dr. Charles S. Wesley, professor of history in Howard University, U.S.A., most adequately, in 1931, in an article in *Southern Workman*. He wrote: "A people with a warlike background as this cannot do otherwise than express their emotion in song. The note of defiance is frequent in their singing. There is the warrior pose and the thrust of the spear, the shout of battle and the song of victory. There seem to be few sorrow songs in the music of the Zulus. There are funeral songs, but even in these, there are the majestic strains without the plaintive minor so well known in our American music." What Professor Wesley wrote about music after hearing Mr. R. T. Caluza's Zulu Double Quartett perform in England in 1930, applies equally to Zulu poetry. Professor Wesley mentioned in the same article that "Rhythm and melody go together, and song and dance as well seem to be in union. . . . The physical movements cannot be recorded and reproduced with music for truly they are parts of the-singing."
- (ii) The power of a Black man's mind and heart to rise above all circumstances imposed on him by conquest and subjugation to Western conditions. The Black man has a test to pass to prove his ability for what Emerson calls "the ability of man to stand alone." By this I do not indicate the isolation of the Black man, but that the Black man, who is introduced into Western social and political systems, may keep unscarred his personal independence and integrity. The Black man has something to contribute to the world's literature, for he has yet to interpret his conception of the end of human existence and the meaning of life. He has yet to consider the impact of the whole disordered world and tell us how he will resist the temptation to discouragement, and even to despair, when he looks upon the behaviour of contemporary civilisation and Western culture. Educated poets have yet to produce more famous lines than the one found in the primitive song, composed in 1906 after Bambatha's Rebellion :—

Mlungu, kawunoni "White man, thou dost not grow fat
Ngezingane zawobaba! Because of our fathers' children!"

The breakdown of the family system and the lamentation of the married women in deserted kraals, whence husbands have gone to Johannesburg not to return, is found in a new type of Zulu music, which is sold broadcast in Johannesburg music saloons. The feature of the songs is that they are composed to a verse, e.g.

Wo Sebenz' ubuye! "Please work and return home!"

We expect our poets to tell us the truth—the greatest achievement of any poet—for if we are to believe and teach other races of humanity to believe our tale, the poets must be truthful. Just as face answers to face, so does the heart of man to man. In the Black man's failures and his successes, in his littleness and his bigness, the poet must be clear, simple, passionate, and glitter with a lustre of his own.

In reading through the ceremonial burial song quoted elsewhere,

*Vuma uphansi umkhonto wezinsizwa,
Nesilo sengwababane.
Wawungekho Mashiya-nkomo.
Vuma uphansi umkhonto wezinsizwa.*

I cannot help remembering that the song is the last of the military war-songs, which mark the end of the Zulu military system. It is a warning against the usage of the spear. Then I remember what a Negro song says to the war-lords of the earth:

"Goin' to lay down my sword and shield
Down by the river side—
Study war no more."

Every great literature of the nations has contributed to the universal meaning of life. This is found in its poetry, and here again I feel the heavy burden laid on our poets by the impact of Western conditions. In Negro literature where the Black man has sung of human ingratitude, atrocious servitude and crude brute power, the whole thing has been summed up in two lines, in the most triumphant manner and power. The lines are sublime in simplicity and in depth of universal meaning:

"Nobody knows the trouble I see—
Glory, hallelujah!"

The Negro song triumphant as it stands brings back to me the Zulu line above, *Vuma uphansi umkhonto wezinsizwa!* (Come let us sing of fallen heroes and spears!) There is a dream in the song reflecting the Zulu mind's devastating experience, and the vanishing of his shadowy faith in war. The poet does not surrender his dream for he knows it has its counterpart when he lives by its enchantment. He has to make himself of a certain quality, to fashion himself to a certain temper. His

poetic dream, expressed in music about dead heroes and spears, breathes impotence and reshapes the stubborn world beyond him. His dream works upon his soul and never diminishes. Even though his military faiths are wrecked. There remains one thing in which he believes without fear of disillusion, and that is the beauty of his dream. To confirm what I am trying to interpret, J. M. Murray in his "Counties of the Mind" says :

" We may even in the exaltation of despair, say with conviction that the wreckage of our hopes and the ruin of the world is beautiful. But the effort of contemplation so austere and self-regardless is too great to be maintained."

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF BANTU

By C. M. DOKE

I

It is very suggestive that the name given in ancient Egyptian records for the "land of the blacks," the almost mythical land to the far south of Egypt, should be *Punt*. There is record of the "sacred country" as far back as the reign of Sankh-ka-Ra, computed to be about 2500 B.C. Several Egyptologists agree in placing the commencement of Punt in the vicinity of the hinterland of the present Somaliland. Probably it stretched far to the west and south of that. Judging from the fact that beyond Punt was the "Land of the Shades, where dwelt the Dangas," dwarfs or Bushmen, it is reasonable to suppose that Punt represented the country of the primitive Bantu, where they lived before their prolonged migrations commenced. The name is suggestive. Is it the first Bantu word ever recorded? In Egyptian *p* and *b* are not clearly distinguished. It is highly probable that *Punt* stands for *bunt(u)*, the land of the people, the Bantu. In Bantu *-NTU* is the oldest of the roots for "person." In Xhosa (Southernmost Bantu) is the term *ubuntu*, in Bemba (Central Bantu) it is *uvuntu*, and in Ganda (Northernmost Bantu) it appears as *obuntu*. In Ganda, *obuganda* signifies the country of the Ganda, and *obuntu*, the country of the people, the Bantu.

The evidence of Mas'ūdī, the Arab writer, in his "Golden Meadows" (*Marūḡ ed-Dahab*) written about 956 A.D., is strongly in support of the Bantu being well to the north, and Punt being the land of the Bantu. He writes:¹

"As we have said above, the Zing² with other Abyssinian tribes spread themselves to the right of the Nile, down to the extremity of the sea of Abyssinia. Of all the Abyssinian tribes the Zing were the only ones who crossed the canal which comes out of the Upper Nile (? Juba River). They established themselves in this country and spread themselves as far as Sofala, which is on the sea of the Zing the furthest limit whither ships sail from Oman and Siraf. For, as the Chinese sea ends at the land of Sila (? Japan), so the limits of the sea of the Zing are near the land of Sofala and that of the Wakwak (Hottentots and Bushmen), a

¹ Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*. Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1861-1877 vol. III, p. 5.

² i.e. the Bantu.

country which yields gold in abundance with other marvels. There the Zing built their chief-town. Then they elected a king whom they called *Falime* (or *Wafalime*). . . . The territory of the Zing begins at the canal derived from the Upper Nile, and extends to the land of Sofala and that of the Wakwak."

II

Arabic Sources

The earliest definite recordings of Bantu words come from Arabic sources, some of which date back to the early part of the 10th century. We are indebted to Professor Carl Meinhof for information upon these in an article entitled "Afrikanische Worte in Orientalischer Literatur."³ It was Professor J. J. Hess of Zurich who pointed out the terms to Meinhof. Four such terms have been identified :

(i) The oldest recorded Bantu word for "God" appears in *al-Hamadânî Kitâb al-buldân* (p. 78), where it is stated that in "Zangîjah" (the language of the "Zang," i.e. the Bantu) God is called **لكلوجلو** *lmklwglw*. Hamadânî wrote in the year 902 A.D. Mas'ûdî in his *Murûğ ed-Dahab* (III, 30) of the year 956 recorded the name as **مكنجلو** *mlknglw*, which he explains as "the great Lord," with other variations which occur as **مكنجلو** (*mkljhlw*) and **مكنجلو** (*mkljhw*). In the principaledition of Mas'ûdî (Bûlâq 1283, Vol. I, p. 188) the word reads

مكنجلو, *mklnglw*. Meinhof discusses the forms at some length, and, after agreeing with Hess that the initial *l* must be a mistake, reads *mklwglw* as *mukulugulu*, drawing comparisons with the present Zulu *unkulunkulu*.

(ii) The present day name for Zanzibar, *Unguja*, occurs in Jāqût's "Geographical Dictionary" (1228 A.D.) where we read : "*Langûjah* (**لَنْجُورِيَّة**) is a large island in the land of Zing, in which the seat of the Kings of Zing is situated." As Professor Meinhof points out, while Swahili has lost the initial *l*, the Nyamwezi still call Zanzibar "Lunguja." The term Zanzibar was first used about 1326 ; it was originally Zangabâr, i.e. the Coast of the Zang or Bantu.

(iii) Mas'ûdî also uses the Bantu term for a species of yam. Of this Hess writes : "Mas'ûdî (III, 30) further states that the staple food

³ In the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Band X, pp. 147-152.

of the Zing is *ḍurah*,⁴ and *kilārī*⁵ (كلارى), which is taken from the earth like tuberous fungi, and *râsan* (*Inula helenium* L.). They are to be found plentifully in Aden and Yemen, and the *kilārī* resembles the *qulqâs* of Egypt and Syria." Meinhof, in discussing this word, compares it with the Swahili *kiazi* (pl. *viazi*), sweet-potato, which is *murazi* in the Nyungwe of Tete, and with the Nyanja *chilazi*, yam.

(iv) The fourth word is recorded by Mas'ūdī as the word for "King." He states that the Zang use رقبى (*wqljmy*). In the Būlāq edition it is given as رقبين (*wqljmn*) and described as meaning "Son of the great Lord." Meinhof connects this term with the Swahili *mfalme*.

III

Portuguese Sources

Although the Portuguese must have first come in contact with the Bantu, when they crossed the Equator in 1471, and although their earliest contacts were with the Bantu of the Western coast south of the Equator, the first recorded Bantu words which they have left us for over a century from that date come from the Eastern coast of Africa. This is easily explained when it is remembered that the whole object of these early voyages was the establishment of contact with India, and the opposition of Arabs on the East Coast necessitated the occupation of such places as Sofala, Kilwa and Mozambique by considerable forces. Added to this, the existence of gold mines in the interior, together with the reports of silver mines, led to repeated inland expeditions and the establishment of strong posts at Sena and Tete on the Zambesi, as well as the more isolated trading stations of Masapa, Bukoto and Luanze. All this occupation brought the Portuguese into much closer touch with the Natives on the East than on the West of Africa.

Prior to 1550 practically all the Bantu terms recorded in Portuguese sources⁶ seem to be confined to place and personal names. There are

⁴ i.e. sorghum, Kafir-corn.

⁵ Or *kalārī*, or *kulārī*.

⁶ A fruitful source for research in this connection is the volume of Portuguese Archives, entitled *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas, publicados por ordem do Governo de sua Magestade Fidelissima ao celebrar-se a comemoração quadricentenaria do descobrimento da America*. This consists of 555 foolscap pages of printed papers, lithographed copies of ancient documents and signatures of kings and princes. Published 1892.

references to "Monomotapa," "Zimbabwe," and the coastal towns of Sofala, Kilwa, Mozambique, etc., though these latter, Kilwa excepted are hardly of Bantu origin.

Quite apart from the difficulties of varying and strange orthographies used by many of those who recorded Bantu words during the XVIth century, much was recorded by obviously illiterate or grossly careless writers. An interesting instance of this is found in a letter by Diogo d'Alcaçova to the King Dom Manuel on November 20th 1506. This letter contains a report concerning Sofala, its trade, and the places in the interior from which gold is obtained—in the kingdom of *Vealanga*⁷ (Karanga); also of the wars in that kingdom, with some observations upon Kilwa and Mombasa. In this letter Zimbabwe is referred to in two different ways, as *Zumubany* and as *Zunhauhy*, the title of the King is given as *Menamotapam*, while his name is written in no less than six distinct ways—*Quesarimgo*, *Quesarymgo*, *Quecarynugo*, *Quecarimugo*, *Queçarinuto* and *Queçarinugo*, and that of the previous king, his father, in two ways—*Mocomba* and *Mocombo*. d'Alcaçova had been entrusted with a present of gold from the king of Sofala to Dom Manuel of Portugal, but owing to repeated severe attacks of fever he had been sent to India, whence he writes this letter, which he ends on a quaint personal note—"Sir, I pray your Highness to bear in mind what I have done, and that I possess nothing, and that I have five sons and daughters; and whereas I am serving Your Highness, that you will grant me the factory of Cananor, after Lopo Cabreyra has completed his term, or sooner, if he wishes to leave earlier, by which Your Highness will confer upon me a great favour."⁸

* * * *

Duarte Barbosa,⁹ in his "*Livro em que dá relação do que viu e ouviu no Oriente*," which was completed in 1516, wrote "do regno de *Benametapa*," where he used the plural form, for both sections of the word; the word had not yet become stereotyped in the singular; later the Portuguese made a proper name of it. Elsewhere, as early as 1506, as already noted, the singular was recorded as *Menamotapam*.¹⁰ Barbosa's rendering of

⁷ Is this a misinterpretation of the handwriting for Kalanga, by the publishers of the Archives?

⁸ From the translation in G.M. Theal *Records of South-eastern Africa*, Vol. I. p. 67.

⁹ Theal: *Records S.E.A.*, I. p. 85.

¹⁰ Originally the word was evidently a title, *myene-mutapo* (pl. *vene-mitapo*), meaning "Owner or Lord of the mine(s)." *Mutapo* (or *umutapo*), is a Bantu word primarily indicating "metalliferous ore."

Zimbabwe¹¹ was *Zimbaöche*, "in which," he says, "are many houses of wood and straw." Referring to language he says, "These Moors . . . speak Arabic, and the others use the language of the country, which is that of the heathens."

Afonso de Albuquerque, in a letter to the King from Goa, dated 25th October 1514,¹² records the plural *Benamotapa*, with a singular of the second portion; while later, in 1552, de Barros wrote both *Benomotápa* and *Monomotápa*.

* * * *

De Barros¹³ in his "Da Asia," First Decade, 1552, writing of happenings said to have taken place about 740 A.D., made an interesting reference to what is probably the origin of the Swahili.

"The town of Magadaxo gained such power and state that it became the sovereign and head of all the Moors of this coast; but as the first tribe who came there, called Emozaydy, held different opinions from the Arabs with regard to their creed, they would not submit to them, and retreated to the interior, where they joined the Kaffirs, intermarrying with them and adopting their customs, so that in every way they became mestizes. These are the people whom the Moors of the sea coast call Baduys, a common name, as in this country we call the country people Alarves."

His use of the term *Emozaydy* is of extreme interest; this represented the tribe who followed Zaide. The recording of the Bantu prefixal form is further illustrated by a reference to the plural, given later, as *Omezaidos*. De Barros records Zimbabwe as *Symbaoe* (which would be near to the Manyika rendering, where *buwe* and *zihwe* occur in place of the Karanga *bge*), and gives *Symbacáyo* as "Keeper of the Zimbabwe;" he also records the word *Moximo*¹⁴ for God.

* * * *

The name of Father Gonçalo da Silveira will always be remembered in the annals of early Jesuit missionary enterprise in South-eastern Africa. Silveira landed at Sofala in 1560 and after but a short stay proceeded further north, up the Zambesi to Tete and further westward

¹¹ *Zimba* in Karanga is augmentative of *imba* and means "big house"; locally it is *Zimbabge*, "palace of stone."

¹² Written by Antonio da Fomsequa; see Theal: Records S.E.A., III. p. 147.

¹³ Theal: Records S.E.A., VI.

¹⁴ In Karanga *mudzimu* is really "spirit of a deceased person," but was used for some time by missionaries to indicate the Supreme Being, the Berlin Mission, with Sotho influence, even using the spelling *Modzimo*.

to the village of the "Monomotapa," where he was martyred on March 16th, 1561. In that short time he seriously studied both Tonga and Karanga. In a letter of his addressed to the "Fathers and Brothers of the College at Goa"¹⁵ he records the name of God as *Umbe*.¹⁶ In an account "of the voyage of Father Dom Gonçalo to the Kingdom of Monomotapa and of his happy passing away,"¹⁷ compiled on the instructions of the Father Provincial from various witnesses in 1561, several Bantu words occur, including the following: *engangas*¹⁸ "wizards, who cast lots with four sticks;" *morefos*¹⁹ "nobles of the kingdom;" *moroo*²⁰ "wizard;" *encoces* "principal lord," which must be connected with the Nguni term *inkosi*, chief.

* * * *

In 1562 we find the earliest record of a complete Bantu sentence. The following is quoted from a letter from Father André Fernandez to the Brothers and Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, dated from Goa, 5th December 1562.²¹ Dealing with Inhambane songs, Fernandez writes:

"Their songs are generally in praise of him to whom they are singing, as 'this is a good man, he gave me this or that, and will give me more.'

"Two songs are common in use among them, one is '*Abenezagambuia*,' which means that the Portuguese eat many things at the same time, or many different dishes, for they never eat of more than one thing at a time, and they never eat and drink at the same time, not from temperance but from habit.

"The other song is: '*Gombe zuco virato ambuze capana virato*,' which means, the cow has leather for shoes and the goat has no leather for shoes; not because they wear shoes, for they all go barefoot unless the soles of their feet are sore, and they have to walk among prickly undergrowth, when they make soles of cow-hide and fasten them beneath their feet with straps."

The literal translation must be: "Cattle (plur.) have shoe-leather, goats no shoe-leather." The dialect which the sentence represents is uncertain; *gombe* is *yombe* in Sena, and *ambuze* is *mbuzi*; Sena would use

¹⁵ From Mozambique, 9th August 1560: see Theal: Records S.E.A., II p. 93.

¹⁶ Cf. Hlangane dialect *Ilumbe*.

¹⁷ Theal: Records S.E.A., II. 116 et seq.

¹⁸ Cf. Shona, *yangga*, diviner.

¹⁹ Cf. Shona, *murefu*, a tall person.

²⁰ Cf. Shona, *muroyi*, wizard, witch.

²¹ Theal: Records S.E.A., II, 142.

zina not *zucu* or *zuko*; *virato* cannot be Sena which uses the prefix *pi-* not *vi-*; *capana* is suggestive of the Swahili to Shona negative *hapana*.

* * * *

Father Monclaro's "Account of the Journey made by Fathers of the Company of Jesus with Francisco Barreto in the Conquest of Monomotapa in the year 1569," which was written in 1572,²² contains a number of Bantu words, among which may be noted the following: *fumos* "chiefs" (cf. *imfumu*); *Macuas* (Makua Natives); *murume* "a grain" (Sena); *simbo* "kerrie" (cf. Shona *tšimbo*); *Mulungo* "God"; *mutume* "ambassador"; *Mozungwes*²³ "Portuguese"; as well as the sentence *Funga Muzungo*, given as "bind the White man."

Some of the ship-wreck accounts contain Bantu words from various tribes, and a close study of these might help to determine the routes of travel of the survivors, as well as indicate tribal positions in the 16th century. From the "Wreck of the ship S. Thomè, on the Land of Fumos in the year 1589"²⁴ we get the terms *ancozes* for chiefs (Cf. Nguni, *inkosi*) and *fimbos*, "fire-hardened sticks." From the "Wreck of the Ship Santo Alberto, at the Rock of the Fountains, in the year 1593"²⁵ we get: *Nanhata*! a greeting (evidently heard in the region of Umtata); also *ancosses* for chiefs. The recorder observes, "The language is the same in nearly all Kaffraria, the difference being only like that between the different dialects of Italy and the ordinary dialects of Spain." The term *Inhancosa* is given as the "name of the chief's brother;" is this *nyana wenkosi*? Among other terms are *mambure* (melons), *manga* (sea), *sincoà* "millet cakes" (i.e. *isinkwa*). It is interesting to note the correct Nguni idiom in a chief's name given as *Mabomboru ka Sobelo*.

Interesting interpretations are given by some of these chroniclers. For instance Fr. Joano dos Santos, who went to Sofala in 1586 and recorded some words, probably of the Teve dialect, in his "History of Eastern Ethiopia,"²⁶ stated that *inhama*! signified "about to execute a person." This word, *inyama*, meaning "meat," was similarly recorded by Diogo de Couto in his "Da Asia,"²⁷ which appeared somewhat before 1616, as meaning "Here we have meat." De Couto further rightly explains that Tete is derived from *motete* meaning "reeds."

* * * *

²² Theal: Records S.E.A., III, 202 *et seq.*

²³ This shews the early origin of *Muzungu*, the common East and Central African word for a European.

²⁴ Theal: Records S.E.A., II, 164 *et seq.*

²⁵ Theal: Records S.E.A., II, 283 *et seq.*

²⁶ From the Portuguese *Ethiopia Oriental*, 1609.

²⁷ Cf. Theal: Record S.E.A. Vol. VI.

IV

Pigafetta

Here we turn to the first serious record from the Western Coast. Filippo Pigafetta²⁸ an Italian, a prominent mathematician, wrote "A Report of the Kingdom of Congo" in Italian in 1591. In this work he quoted a considerable number of Kongo words²⁹ related to him by Odoardo Lopez³⁰ in 1588. These are of sufficient importance to deserve fairly close examination: many can be verified or corrected by modern Kongo.

He gives the Congo River its Native name of *Zaire*, which he explains as meaning "I know" (Ko. I know=*nze*ye, from vb. *zaya*); *Loanda* he says means "bald, shaven"; "town" is *libata* (Ko. *evata*); "banyan" *enzanda* (Ko. *nsanda*); "limpet, rock-fish" *ambiziamatare* (Ko. *mbiji a matadi*, rock fish); "dug-out canoe" *lungo* (Ko. *lungu*). Of *licondo* he writes, "a large timber tree: six men cannot compass it with their arms . . . one of them (canoes made from it) will carry about 200 persons"; this is the baobab (Ko. *nkondo*). The modern *mbiji a ngulu* appears as *ambixé angulo* (hog-fish) "a kind of creature that hath, as it were, two hands, and a tail like a target." *Mani* he gives as "prince, lord, chief, governor," appearing in such compounds as *Mani-Bamba*, *Mani-Lemba*, *Mani-Danda*, *Mani-Loango*; while he gives the "name of a prominent king" as *Moënemugi* (both *mani* and *mwene* appear in the Ngola dialect of Mbundu). The Ovambo people are referred to as *Ambu*, while a Native of Congo is given as *Moci-Conghi* (Ko. *mwixi-Kongo*), but it is noteworthy that Lopez uses the singular as a plural, "the lords of the *Moci-Conghi*" (plur. is *exi-Kongo*). *Malo-manzaao* is "foot of an elephant" (Ko. *malu*, legs, plur. of *kulu*; *ma nzau*, of elephant); similarly *mene-manzaao* "tooth of an elephant" (Ko. *meno*, teeth, plur. of *dino*), and *moana-manzaao* "a young elephant" (Ko. *mwana*, child, young). Several animal names are given, as *engoi* "tyger" (Ko. *ngo*, leopard), *empalanga* "large antelope" (Ko. *mpalanga* ?kudu), *incire* "sable, weasel," *empacha* "beast from which shields are made, less than ox, horn like goat (?Ko. *mpakasa*, buffalo). *Tombocado* is "one degraded from his position" (Ko. *tomboka*,

²⁸ Not to be confused with Antonio Pigafetta of Vicenza who travelled round the world with Magellan 1519-22.

²⁹ Our notes are taken from the 1745 reprint of Hartwell's 1597 translation. Hartwell says that Lopez made certain notes, "tumultuary papers of Lopez," and "unpremeditated speeches uttered by mouth at several times."

³⁰ Lopez was a Portuguese, born at Beneventum (24 miles from Lisbon). He sailed to Loanda in 1578 in the ship St. Anthony, belonging to an uncle, with merchandise.

be disembarked ; but cf. Portuguese *tombo*, a tumble, fall). It is interesting to find at this early date, in the word *mazza* "maize," that the word has already become a current borrowing from the Portuguese "maiz" (Ko. *masa*).

The Bantu prefix system for differentiating singular and plural was not recognised by Pigafetta (or Lopez), as the following quotation shows :

"The Latin History of the Indies . . . the book is faulty, in the name of the people that rebelled, for it calls them *Mundiqueti* whereas indeed the Portuguese rightly term them *Anziqueti*."³¹

The first use of the term *Mbulamatari*, used regularly to-day to indicate the Belgians and Portuguese, occurs in Pigafetta's "Report," where he refers to "Francesco Bullamatare-catche-stone" (Ko. *bula*, split open, *matadi*, rock) and adds an interesting story.³²

His remarks on language might be noted. Speaking of the Anzichi, he says :³³ "Their language is altogether different from the language of Congo ; and yet the Anzichi will learn the language of Congo, very soon and easily, because it is the plainer tongue ; but the people of Congo very hardly learn the language of the Anzichi. . ."

And later :³⁴ "The language of the people of Angola is all one with that of the people of Congo, because, as we told you before, they are both but one Kingdom. The only difference between them is, as commonly it is between two nations that border one upon another, as for example between the Portuguese and the Castilians, or rather between the Venetians and the Calabrians, who pronouncing their words in a different manner, and uttering them in several sorts, although it be all one speech, yet do they very hardly understand one another."

V

Two English Sources

At the end of the 16th century an Englishman, Andrew Battel of Leigh in Essex, was captured by the Portuguese and sent a prisoner to Angola, where he lived and roamed with Native tribes for about eighteen years from 1589. The account of his "strange adventures" was given

³¹ Part II, Chapter II.

³² Part II, Chapter IV.

³³ Part I, Chapter V.

³⁴ Part I, Chapter VII.

in 1610, after his return to England. From this account, apart from place and personal names, I have extracted over forty Bantu words, including one complete sentence; these words represent Mbundu, Kongo and Longo. The orthography is strange and inconsistent, for instance a certain "large tree yielding water" is variously given as *alicondo*, *alicunde* and *elicandy*. The name for "God" is put down in one place as *Sambee*, in another as *Pango* (cf. *Nzambi-ampungu*). Among the words might be noted *ganga* (priest), *mani* (chief, lord), *pongo* (gorilla), *engeco* (?chimpanzee), *emboa* (dog), *masanga* (spec. of grain), *masimpota* (guinea-wheat). The sentence he records is, *Emeno eyge bembet Maramba*, "I come to be tried, O Maramba!" This is very difficult to identify; the first two words in Mbundu would be *Eme ngeza*; *bembet*, a strange form, I cannot trace; *Maramba* is a correct vocative. While Battel's words are interesting they are of little philological value, as the dialects are mixed and the orthography too unreliable.

Another record, of little value, except, that it gives the earliest words in a Cormoro dialect, is that of Thomas Herbert, whose travels took place from 1626 onwards. In his book "Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great," writing of the language of Mohelia,³⁵ one of the Cormoro Islands, he states: "Some fragments of their language I took so well as I could from their own Idiom. A King is *Sultan*, Bracelets *Arembo*, a Hen *Coquo*, an Ox *Gumbey*, Coco-nuts *Sejavoye*, Plantains *Figo*, a Goat *Buze*, an Orange *Tudah*, a Lemon *Demon*, Water *Mage*, Paper *Cartassa*, a Needle *Sinzano*, etc., a mish-mash of Arabick and Portuguese."

And this exhausts the English contribution to Bantu language studies almost up to the end of the 18th century!

³⁵ Quotation from the fourth impression (with additions by the author still living) 1677, page 27; the words do not seem to have been published in his first edition of 1634.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ke Etela Lesotho. Eenvoudige Sotho-Leeslesse vir Beginners. Deur B. I. C. van Eeden (Lektor) en D. S. Mphutlane (Sotho-Spraakhulp). Departement Bantoetale-Volkekunde, Universiteit van Stellenbosch. 17 blss.

Dit is altyd 'n moeilikheid by die doseer van 'n Bantoetaal aan Blankes dat daar feitlik g'n geskikte leesstof vir beginners in so 'n taal bestaan nie. Die voorhande literatuur is in die eerste plek vir die Bantoe geskryf en die taal daarvan is vir die Blanke beginner deurgaans veels te moeilik—behalwe in die geval van sommige skoolboekies, waar die inhoud egter weer gewoonlik vir die Blanke leerling te oninteressant is. Hierdie boekie van dr. van Eeden en sy Sotho-Spraakhulp los hierdie moeilikheid op deur leesstof te bied wat na taal maklik genoeg en na inhoud interessant genoeg is vir die Blanke beginner in Suid-Sotho.

Die werkie bestaan uit 'n twintigtal lessies oor verskillende aspekte van Basoetoeland en die lewe van die volk aldaar. Die taal is eenvoudig maar idiomaties, en die inhoud handel oor allerlei onderwerpe wat die leser nie net met die taal maar ook met die lewe en gewoontes van die Suid-Sothovolk bekend maak, en hom seer seker sal interesseer.

Die boekie is goed gedruk, op behoorlike papier, en het 'n slaplinne bandjie. Daar is feitlik g'n drukfoute nie—'n baie belangrike punt—maar dit is jammer dat tegniese moeilikhede i.v.m. die aanbring van 'n diacriticum dit nodig gemaak het om sekere reëls steurend te spaseer.

Die soort van werk wat deur die Stellenbosse Bantoeïstiek-Departement hier vir Suid-Sotho gedoen is, moet eventueel ook vir ander Bantoe-tale gedoen word; en ons wil die hoop uitspreek dat die gegewe goeie voorbeeld dan ook gou die verdienende navolging sal kry. G.P.L.

La Sorcellerie dans les pays de mission. Compte rendu de la XIVe Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain. L'Édition universelle, S.A. Desclée de Brouwer et Cie., Paris. 1937 price fr. 65.

This is a very valuable report. It consists of a series of papers on different aspects of witchcraft read at the XIVth session of the Conference of Catholic Missions which was held at Louvain in 1936, with a summary of the discussions that followed each. Nearly forty Catholic missionary bodies were represented, and the speakers were drawn from the Congo, the Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, India, Java, and

New Guinea. Most of the papers were read in French, but a number of Dutch contributions are printed separately at the end of the book, and there is an exceedingly useful and complete bibliography on witchcraft, sorcery, magic, secret societies, shamanism, and religious beliefs, classified under subject headings and also according to areas—Asia, Indonesia, America, and Africa for the most part.

There are some theoretical contributions among the papers, including an analysis of Levy Bruhl's views on prelogical mentality by P. E. Keller, and a history of witchcraft in relation to ecclesiastical history in Europe by P. De Bil, but for the most part the interest of the different contributions lies in the number of practical problems of education and administration raised by these discussions on witchcraft and magic practices. For instance M. A. Moeller, an ex-Vice-Governor, discusses ritual murders, and the pros and cons of repressing initiation and secret societies in an interesting note "Les hommes léopards et la repression de la sorcellerie au Congo." The possibility of adapting Xtian ritual acts such as genuflection to Native ideas, or African ceremonies such as blessing the seeds and the harvest to satisfy Xtian conceptions was debated after a paper on "La sorcellerie en Afrique equatoriale francaise" by P. Auzanneau, as well as the problem of punishing the sorcerer. P. Dufonteny's paper "Les sorciers comme chefs de rebellion" deals with modern movements of witch-finders and sorcerers, and the problems they raise for the missionary and the administrator.

Most contributors seem to agree that a clear distinction can and should be made between the malevolent sorcerer and the harmless or benevolent Native doctor or magician, and the definitions of such terms as magic, sorcery and witchcraft proposed at the opening of the Conference by its secretary, P. Pierre Charles, give a solid foundation to the discussions. The pitfalls that await the Government that tries to legislate against the sorcerer or the witchfinder are clearly realised by most of the speakers and specifically debated in a discussion on legal measures projected or already formulated in this direction by the Belgian Government (Appendix I).

Though there is little new ethnographical material in the book, it is interesting to see how strikingly similar are the problems the sorcerer sets to the missionary all over the world, and this symposium represents informed modern opinion in the Catholic field. The general view-point differs little, if at all, from that adopted by a set of English administrators, missionaries and anthropologists in the special witchcraft number of *Africa*, vol. IV, 1935.

A. I. RICHARDS.

Centres Chrétiens D'Afrique I Cameroun—Les Bulletin des Missions
Tome XVI. No. 5, 1937.

This is a special number of the Belgian Bulletin des Missions (La Revue des Benedictins de Saint-André-lez-Bruges) devoted to the description of the rapid advance of mission work in the Cameroons during the last half century. It gives a history of the work done, an account of the projects now in hand and a summary of the medical situation as it is handled by the mission. The volume has some excellent photographs of a little known area and a map of the Catholic district of Douala round the mouth of the Sanaga river, and the Yaounde district which adjoins it.

A.I.R.

A Grammar of Chichewa, by M. H. Watkins (No. 24 of Language Dissertations of the Linguistic Society of America), pp. 158, 1937.

Chewa is a Bantu language spoken in Nyasaland on the west side of the lake and extending into Northern Rhodesia. The author of this grammatical study based his work on "some 400 pages of text, with grammatical material, and more than 700 pages of ethnological descriptions in English which include many expressions in the Native language. All the information was obtained from Kamuzu Banda, a Native Chewa, while he was in attendance at the University of Chicago, from 1930 to 1932." Despite the distance of this research from the field where the language is spoken, and despite the fact that only one informant was available to the author, Mr. Watkins has produced a very valuable study of this language. In the first place he has used the International Phonetic script and has endeavoured faithfully to mark the tones, recognising a "high register" and a "low register." Chewa belongs to that belt of Bantu languages across Central Africa, which are distinguished tonetically by "peaks of tone," so distinct from the languages of the South-eastern Bantu zone or the Congo zone with their complicated tone systems.

The morphology, which occupies the bulk of the book, is treated on sound principles, and it is refreshing to see that the author has got away from the outworn European classificatory methods of so many writers of Bantu grammars. The noun classes with their varying concords (verbal and qualificative) are adequately treated, there being a most useful supply of sentences illustrating the concords.

In his treatment of the verb, the author introduces several unique ideas, some of which do not seem convincingly necessary; his algebraic treatment of verbal ideas and verbal forms seems unnecessarily ponderous. He should not have included the reflexive among the verbal derivatives or

"voices" as he terms them. His mood divisions also appear strange. Why has he included the imperative as a mood? Since it shares with the infinitive in not expressing "a subjective attitude," it is interjectional in function.

Watkins rightly points out the verbal function of the radical descriptives in Chewa (very different from the purely descriptive function in Zulu.) This verbal function is generally found in Central Bantu. It might be pointed out that the term "ideophone" (see my *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, pp. 118 and 184) is preferable, for in Central Bantu there is derivation of ideophones from verbs as well as the reverse process.

The whole book is uncommon in its method of treatment and definitely stimulating to any student of Bantu.

C.M.D.

The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language, by D. M. Beach, (A.B., Ph.D., D.Litt.). Heffer, Cambridge, 1938. Price 21/- net.

Prof. Beach's revised thesis for the D.Litt. degree is to be welcomed as the first detailed study of Hottentot Phonetics by a trained phonetician. This does not mean that we are belittling the pioneer work of such investigators as Wuras, Krönlein, Schultze, Meinhof and others from whose work Prof. Beach evidently acquired valuable information. The feeling, however, existed that the results of these investigators had to be co-ordinated by someone with expert phonetic training, and this Prof. Beach has admirably accomplished.

The work under review can be divided into three sections:

a. Descriptive Phonetics of Nama and Korana (with a little instrumental work). The author examined 81 Nama speakers (12 dialects), 25 Korana speakers, 13 Griquas, 22 Bergdama (Nama speakers), and some 30 Bastards and Hai//om-Bushmen.

b. Historical and Comparative Phonetics of Nama and Korana.

c. Orthoepic and orthographic problems.

In Section (a), before the author sets out to describe the Nama phonemes in detail, he discusses general principles, as e.g. what constitutes sentences, breath groups, words, roots (here he distinguishes five roots classes according to the phonetic structure), syllables (those elusive elements of speech which are only to be explained linguistically and psychologically), phones and phonemes. To the reviewer Prof. Beach is

not at all clear as to his distinctions between phones (physiophones) or phonemes (psychophones). The fact that he suggests that affricates and diphthongs may be phones, instead of a monophonemic realisation of two phones, shows that he is mixing up physical phonetic units and phonological contrast units. In his actual description of the phonemes of Nama and Korana, however, Beach clearly differentiates between phones and phonemes.

His treatment of Nama is very detailed as regards the quality of the phonemes, and I could verify from his Korana description that the author has a well-trained ear. There are however certain points the author could have elaborated more clearly and perhaps accurately. For instance, the amount of variation in the quality of the vowel phonemes could have been stressed. The definition of a diphthong as a phonemic unit could have been more accurate. What he calls the ʔ-phoneme, seems, from his description, to be a characteristic and demarcating element rather than a phonemic unit. In dealing with clicks the author discusses their physiological formation and groups them with the implosive and inspirates. Instead of taking into account the acoustic release sound, which is characteristic of click-sounds as a class. The clicks proper are but one class of sounds belonging to those not dependent on breath movement being even more different from the other group of rareficates, the implosives, than the ordinary spirate-plosives are from the fricatives.

Beach's distinction into pulmonic, glottalic and velaric clicks, although perhaps physiologically sound, is therefore acoustically not a happy one. I feel that, although the author talks about click-influxes and effluxes, he should have stated more clearly that clicks are compound phonemes, consisting of the click-noise proper plus an acoustic result of a velar or post-velar release following the click release, or of an accompaniment, during its stop, by a non-click sound. Also, I find, that except for the statement about labial clicks, his criticism of Doke's definition of the click not fully justified. When Doke states that the click is formed by rarefaction between two points of closure of the tongue, one being velar, he naturally means that the air space must be enclosed by the edge of the tongue closing against the gums of upper molars and premolars as well, just as the ordinary alveolar plosive presupposes the same closure.

I don't think Beach is correct where he states that the reason why Europeans have difficulty in pronouncing the alveolar click is because the Europeans cannot easily fit the tip and the blade of their tongues

into the narrow alveolar end of the roof of the mouth. From anthropological measurements done in the anatomy department of the Witwatersrand University it has been found that the only difference between the standard European and the standard Hottentot palate, seems a question of depth but not of width, and with the alveolar click it is not so much a question of fitting the tongue into a groove. The shape of the author's palate is exceptionally narrow for a standard European palate (cf. Keith & Shaw).

In discussing click effluxes Beach evidently does not distinguish between voiceless tenuis and media velar releases of the click: thus /*k* and /*g*. This latter variety is from my kymograph tracings the type found in Zulu and Xhosa (their so-called voiced clicks) where the velar efflux can be compared with the second plosive in *ugugula*. Also the real difference between the Zulu-Xhosa and the Hottentot "simple clicks" is that, whereas the Nama has a weak velar voiceless plosive velar release, this in Zulu-Xhosa is silent, because the glottis is closed before the back release, resulting in a vowel with hard beginning (i.e. preceded by glottal plosive) following the front release. The latter type is, of course, also found in Nama.

Very interesting is Prof. Beach's assertion as to the development of a velar nasal before a click with glottal plosive or glottal unvoiced fricative efflux (p. 87). Another explanation of this may be that because of the lack of breath pressure in the pharynx for these effluxes (because of glottal interference) the velum has no pressure on it and in quick speech may be lowered resulting a nasal following the vowel which precedes the click. Although my Korana material substantiates Beach's hypothesis, I found the nasal developing before other click phonemes in Lake Chrissie Bushman.

Less successful I find the chapters on Length and Stress. Since, as Beach states, duration treatment must be relative, his absolute results do not lead you anywhere. Apart from psychological influences, duration of a speech sound is dependent on the duration of the group as a whole, and the number of speech sounds in the group. Beach should have employed the Heinitz-formula for relative duration computation. As his results are now, they cannot be used for comparative purposes.

The author only treats of word tone and his establishing of six tonemes in Nama which have developed from the four tonemes of Korana is an interesting and valuable piece of research. In addition

to using the old phonograph records and the ear for the determination of tone, I would have liked to see some relative pitch measurements with the Meyer-Schneider apparatus or some of the modern pitch recording apparatus, in order to check the results obtained by the ear which are not always to be trusted. The lines along which further investigations in respect of the pitch movement in connected discourse must be carried out, are indicated.

It is unfortunate that Beach examined only the Korana from Kimberley and Upington, because he would have found their dialect different from the Links-dialect, and that of the Great Korana from the Bloemhof and Vryburg districts. Speakers from the latter places maintain that the Kimberley people don't speak "pure" Korana, whatever this means. However, had he examined the Links-dialect he would have found the proper "voiced" clicks, and the *dz* sound he was looking for, and other phonetic phenomena like *c* and *j*, to name but a few. In checking Beach's data with a very good Korana informant from Bloemhof, I found several inaccuracies which are probably due to our author's informants. The scope of this review does not allow of their enumeration.

To me the most valuable contribution of this work is the author's conclusions in the historical section. The comparative study of Nama and Korana tonemes, the relationship between phoneme and toneme, and the elaboration of Vedder's Decomposition Theory of the origin of the Hottentot strong root from two syllabled-roots beginning with clicks followed by *a* or *o*, and *m* or *n* + *i*, *a*, *u*, or followed by vowels *a* or *o* + *p*, or *r* + *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* or *u*, is the result of ardent study and clever reasoning.

A final chapter on the spelling of Hottentot and a proposed new orthography for Nama, brings this interesting and painstaking work to a close.

The author will permit me a few main points of criticism :

a. Lack of more modern scientific investigation into various speech-sound problems.

b. Too much general phonetics in a specialized work of this kind.

c. Only scattered results as to the phonetic changes speech sounds undergo in connected discourse.

d. Far too much emphasis on orthographic problems and results of previous investigators like Wuras, Krönlein, etc. (Beach incidentally

proves to me that Wuras did not do so badly after all for an untrained missionary).

e. Lack of sufficient material to cover all the dialects of Korana. It is not quite right to talk about Korana phonetics when only dealing with one group which is not the most important at that.

Although not wholly subscribing to Jones' view that this work under review is the model of what a phonetic study of a particular language should be, nevertheless the author must be congratulated on a very fine piece of research, which has supplied the longfelt need of a good textbook on Hottentot phonetics.

The printer's part of the work is a model of what a publication of this kind should be.

P. de V. PIENAAR.

More Letters to African Teachers, by H. J. E. Dumbrell, Longmans Green & Co. 1938. Price 2/3.

In writing a short review of this excellent little book, I have denied myself the pleasure of quoting some of the pregnant thoughts of the writers in order to save space. The task of a reviewer is not so much to criticise as to try to appreciate the purpose of the book before him. As I understand it, the purpose of this book is to be a guide and a companion to African teachers, and I think the book succeeds very well in doing that.

In teaching it is easy to get into a groove of dull routine and petty details and to become narrow in outlook and ideals. This book should go a long way in giving teachers that vision and that broadness of mind and spirit which are so necessary to their work in the African Village as it is today.

Writers and readers are placed on a friendly and equal footing, and this makes it easy for information to pass from one to the other. You feel that here is something which is neither academic nor didactic but a sharing of useful experiences, and after all that is what Education is.

To a lay mind it may seem queer to include in the book such commonplaces as making soap, growing tobacco, eradicating weeds and building a house or a Village school, but after all both teachers and pupils are part of the social system in which these activities are important. In Africa today every useful activity is a matter of Educational experience.

The book should come home to the heart and bosom of every African teacher.

S. D. B. NGCOBO.

Torchbearers in Darkest America by Abe J. B. Desmore, M.A.
Published by the Carnegie Corporation Visitors' Grants Committee, Pretoria, 1/-.

It is no new thing for South African Educators to visit the Southern States to study the "Janes" method of school organisation and supervision. This method has already in various adaptations had a considerable influence on Educational practice in African schools from Kenya to the Cape. Mr. Desmore has approached the working of the method in America with a special view to the improvements of the Coloured communities of the Western Province by the introduction of "Janes" methods in and from the schools. While he quite rightly makes the point that the "Janes" method is intended for the socialising and improvement of education and life in any rural under-privileged community most of those who read his study will do so thinking of the Coloured Rural Schools of the South West. We may hope to see much educational and social progress in this area in the immediate future. The publication of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured Population of the Union has indicated the need for help in this direction. Mr. Desmore's very useful report with its suggestion for a co-ordinated scheme comes at an opportune moment. Particularly useful is his study of the trend of "Janes" supervision and activity—in America away from general community organisation—to pure school organisation as education in the schools improves. In South Africa today we have opportunities of community work and health work made possible through the care of distinct Departments of State, distinct also from the Education Department and there are already signs in some areas of lack of co-operation and co-ordination of services. Training in social services is now available for all races alike in South Africa, and we may hope that in the introduction of a scheme such as Mr. Desmore outlines supervisors will be forthcoming who have the training as well as the will to bring together all possible agencies for the uplift of the communities concerned.

E.B.J.

Dintšhontšho tsa Bo-Juliuse Kesara (Translation into Tswana of William Shakespeare's play: "Julius Caesar") by Solomon Tshekišo Plaatje, revised and edited by G. P. Lestrade (University of the Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg 1937, price 2/6).

The Bantu peoples of South Africa are gradually building up a literature. Their intellectual leaders know that the pioneer work of the missionaries in this field has reached that stage where it has to be taken

over and developed by the Africans themselves, if the Bantu languages are to survive and to become a worthy medium of expression for the literary genius of the African.

Perhaps nobody realised this quite so fully as the late S. T. Plaatje, who set out single-handed to teach his countrymen that there was a literary future for Tswana. Within the short span of his life he wrote a number of books in and about Tswana, of which, unfortunately, only a few have been published. Plaatje had been deeply impressed by the genius of Shakespeare, and he tried to do, what no other African had yet attempted, to give to his people a translation of Shakespeare's works.

Before his death he had completed the translation of a number of plays, but only "*The Comedy of Errors*" had been published. The other manuscripts appeared to be lost, and it is only owing to the efforts of Dr. Doke that one at least—Julius Caesar—was eventually found. We owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Doke and to the University of the Witwatersrand for discovering and publishing this valuable manuscript.

As a new orthography had been introduced the manuscript had to be rewritten. This work was undertaken by Professor G. P. Lestrade. In his introduction Professor Lestrade tells us how he found, much to his consternation, that what he had thought would be a relatively simple matter turned out to be a formidable task. The author had apparently not found time to put the finishing touches to his work: certain passages had been left out, important words had been omitted, and the translation was in many cases inaccurate and even positively misleading. It reflects credit on the work of Professor Lestrade that he was able to remove these blemishes without departing from the author's style. It would, indeed, be very difficult to detect any of the passages retouched by the editor. I think it can safely be said that no one could have accomplished this task in a more satisfactory manner than Professor Lestrade. Thanks to his painstaking revision "*Juliuse Kesara*" is not marred by the same errors and inconsistencies as "*Diphōšophōšo*." To translate Shakespeare into another European language is no easy matter, but the difficulties become ten times greater, when his plays have to be recast in a Bantu language. Nevertheless Plaatje has succeeded in giving us a fair interpretation of "*Julius Caesar*." His marvellous command of the Tswana language, his easy flow of diction and his instinctive choice of the appropriate word combine to make his translation a fine piece of work, and one, which has captured much of the dramatic force of the original.

A few passages will illustrate how successfully Plaatje handles certain situations: Listen to the dignified language of Antonius when he challenges

Caesar's murderers to end his life with their swords still red with Caesar's blood :

" Le fa nka ba ka tshela sekete sa dinyaga, ga nke ke ba ke bôna nako epê e e lebanyeng lošo lwa me jaka e."

The words of Antonius when he displays Caesar's cloak to the multitude are just as forceful in the translation as in the original : "*Bô-nang jaka tšhaka ya ga Kasiuse e mo phuntse ; bônang fa o radikweng teng ké Kaseka ka mabifi, le jaka morategi wa gagwê Borutuse a mo tlhabile ; madi a ba a belebetsêga, a ya go tlhóla gore, A rurerure Borutuse ké éné o ka mo tlhabang ?*"

Plaatje does not by any means give a literal, and therefore meaningless translation, where the original forms of expression used have no place in Bantu mentality. Where Brutus says : "To you our swords have leaden points," this is rendered by : "*Mo go Wêna 'ntlha tsa tšhaka tsa rona ké tsa tshipi e e metse.*"

Incidentally this last quotation shows how very difficult it is to reproduce in a Bantu language the clearcut, vigorous dialogue of Shakespearean characters. Shakespeare moulds his language at will to suit his purpose, and Plaatje needs almost twice as many words to express the same idea in conventional Tswana. Perhaps this cannot be avoided, but while "brevity is the soul of wit" in numberless passages of the English play, this cannot be said of the Tswana version.

" Ké eo hé, Kesara ; mpolêlêlang gore lo tla tlhóla lo bôna kae morêna yo o tšhwanang nae ? " is but a poor substitute for : "Here was a Caesar! when comes such another?"

The clever word-play of Shakespeare's characters must have caused the translator no end of trouble, and we cannot, in fairness, expect him to bring out the full significance of passages such as : "A trade, sir, that, I hope, I may use with a safe conscience ; which is, indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles."

But it does come as a surprise that the following words spoken by Brutus : "Tis very like ; he hath, the falling sickness," are rendered by : "*A o na a bolawa ké mototwana he ?*" and that Cassius' most significant reply :

"No, Caesar hath it not ; but you and I
And honest Casca, we have the falling sickness."

should have been omitted altogether.

The educated Tswana and all the European students of Tswana will read and study this play with real pleasure, and to many Africans who have struggled with the original, Plaatje's translation will come as a revelation. It will not only fill them with admiration for the great poet and his translator but will also, I hope, inspire them and induce those who are gifted that way to make their own contribution to the literature of their language.

The University of the Witwatersrand has paid a fitting tribute to the memory of this Bantu author by presenting "Julius Kesara" to his countrymen. I trust that the book will soon be in the hands of all who love the Tswana language, and when a second edition becomes necessary, I hope that Professor Lestrade will add an introductory article in Tswana on the historical and cultural background of the play, and will thereby greatly enhance the value of this book which he and Plaatje have given to us.

W. EISELEN.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS IN THE BOLOONGWE DIALECT OF SEK GALAGADI

By I. SCHAPER A

During a field trip to the BaKwena at Molepolole (Bechuanaland Protectorate), in July, 1938, I met a young Kgalagadi man named Gaoonwe Seloilwe, serving as a police orderly in the Government Camp. Gaoonwe is by birth headman of the MaKgalagadi known as BaBoloongwe Boo-Modimo, who live in the Letlhakeng Valley some sixty miles west of Molepolole ; and I took advantage of this opportunity to obtain from him some ethnographical texts and other linguistic matter in the dialect of his people. The fact that I was then engaged primarily in making a survey of Kwena law and custom for the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration prevented me from spending more time with him than I did, or from visiting Letlhakeng to supplement and check the information he gave me. But since, as far as I am aware, nothing has previously been published in or about any of the Kgalagadi dialects, I trust that the material recorded here may, in spite of its inevitable defects, be found of interest by students of South African ethnography and linguistics. The texts and other linguistic matter, as dictated by Gaoonwe, were written down either by myself or by Kgwadira Lesele, a Kwena teacher from Letlhakeng, whom I was employing as an assistant in my other work. Lesele was sufficiently familiar with the Boloongwe dialect to transcribe the texts afterwards, for purposes of comparison, into his own (the Kwena) dialect of Tswana. The translations into English, for which I am responsible, are not meant to be absolutely literal, but follow the originals as closely as is possible without loss of clarity. The linguistic analysis of the texts and other matter collected by me, together with some remarks on the similarities and differences between SeKwena and SeKgalagadi, will form the subject of a separate publication. The present paper is designed merely to serve as a record, and to provide a medium for the little historical data I was also able to obtain about the MaKgalagadi.

The orthography employed is that now officially accepted for Tswana, with the following indispensable variations : (1) the digraph *ty* represents the unvoiced palatal explosive (written *c* in the I.P.A. system), which was used consistently by Gaoonwe wherever the Kwena and other Tswana use *t*, e.g. *ratya* for *rata*, *tyhutyô* for *thutô*, and *tyabola* for *tabola* ; (2) the symbol *h'* represents *ejected k*, usually but not consistently employed by

Gaoonwe before *a* and *o* in the final syllable of a word, and occasionally in other positions ; and (3) the symbol *c*, found (in these texts) only in the word *mncuana* (small), represents the dental click (also written *c* in the Nguni languages, and / in the Bushman and Hottentot languages).

Some reference may now be made to the people whose language is here recorded. Tradition has it that they were among the earliest Tswana-speaking immigrants to settle in Bechuanaland, and that later invading tribes of Tswana stock either conquered and enslaved them, or pushed them back from the more fertile east into the desert west, whence the name "MaKgalagadi" (people of the Kalahari Desert) by which they are now generally known to their overlords and conquerors. At the present time groups of "MaKgalagadi" are found living as independent communities in the Crown Lands forming the Kgalagadi and Ghanzi Districts of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and as subject communities in the Ngwaketse, Kwena, Ngwato and Tawana Reserves of the same Territory. Probably they also extend further south into the regions dominated by the Rolong and Tlhaping, but on this point I have no reliable information.

Where the MaKgalagadi are subject to other tribes, they were formerly compelled to pay special tribute to their overlords (as noted below in Text I); they were parcelled out as serfs among the more prominent men of the ruling tribe, for whom they had to hunt and whose cattle, in some cases, they herded, and they had no voice in the administration of tribal affairs. Of recent years their condition has on the whole improved. The Administration has made it illegal to levy tribute or forced labour from them ; and since the early days of the Protectorate they have also been liable for hut-tax, which tended to raise them to an equal footing with the other members of the tribes to which they were subject. The mining and industrial development of the Transvaal and neighbouring regions has also provided many of them with a convenient refuge from oppression and abuse ; it is by no means uncommon to hear a Kwena or Ngwaketse aristocrat maintain that all his MaKgalagadi have run away to the mines ! It must also be added that such Chiefs as Kgama of the BaNgwato, Sechele I of the BaKwena, and Bathoeng I of the BaNgwaketse, tried to promote in various ways the spread of civilisation among the MaKgalagadi under their respective jurisdictions. Moreover, among both the BaNgwaketse and the BaNgwato, there are communities, reputedly of Kgalagadi origin, which are accepted as full members of the tribe with the same status as other subjects of the Chief, and to whom the admittedly degrading term of "MaKgalagadi" is nowadays hardly ever applied. These communities include the BaKgwatlheng, BaTsôpsê and

BaTlounge among the BaNgwaketse, and the BaPedi and BaPhaleng among the BaNgwato.

We know very little indeed of the local history and tribal groupings of the MaKgalagadi. In the Kgalagadi District, in the south-west of Bechuanaland Protectorate, most of the MaKgalagadi call themselves BaNgologa. These people are divided into four different sections: the BagaMfihadu (or BaIhadu), at Gukunsi; the BaPebane, at Lehututu; the BaThaga, at Tshane; and the BaKgwaliheng (or BaKgwatera), at Lokgwabe. At Kang, and also at Lehututu, there are other MaKgalagadi calling themselves BaShaga and BaPanyane, who claim to be distinct from the BaNgologa. In the south-east of the Ngwaketse Reserve, at Macheng on the Kgoro Flats, live a large community of MaKgalagadi known as BagaMosiwana, a name by which many of the other MaKgalagadi in the same Reserve are also known, although some term themselves BaNgologa. In addition, as noted above, the BaKgwaliheng, BaTsôpsê and BaTlounge, although accepted nowadays as BaNgwaketse proper, are held to be of Kgalagadi origin. In the western portions of the Kwena Reserve, finally, we have the BaBoloongwe BooModimo and the BaKgwaliheng BooMoephisi at Letlhakeng, the BaBoloongwe BooPôane and BooRaMolêfêlê at Metsebotlhoko, the BaShaga bagaKgalo, bagaMôtshôthô and baPanyane at Tsaiweng and Dutle, and the BagaThegedi at Kudumalapšwe. There are many other MaKgalagadi at Lophêphê, to the north-east of the same Reserve, but I have no information regarding their tribal identity. I neglected also to inquire into this matter while among the BaNgwato, nor have I any information at all regarding the identity of the MaKgalagadi in the Tawana Reserve and in the Ghanzi District.

On the available evidence, there appear to be two main stocks of MaKgalagadi in the southern half of Bechuanaland Protectorate: BaShaga and BaKgwaliheng. The BaShaga, according to tradition, are descended from the BaTlhaping now residing in the Vryburg District of the Union of South Africa; it is said that their ancestor Modikele quarrelled with his people, who drove him away, and he went into the Kalahari, where he settled at Kang¹. As already mentioned, they claim to be distinct from the BaNgologa. The latter, on the other hand, are of the same stock as the BaKgwaliheng, regarding whose early history I was able to obtain several independent but corroborative accounts.

(a) Gaoonwe told me that his people originally came from the south-east of Bechuanaland Protectorate, somewhere in the vicinity of

¹ A. J. Wookey, *Dieo tsa Secwana* (Tigerkloof, 1929), p. 84; and data furnished by the District Commissioner, Kgalagadi District.

where Gaberones and Lobatsi now are. They went from here to Dithêjwane, near Molepolole, but being driven away by the invading BaKwena passed on to Letlhakeng. Here they divided. Some, now known as BaKgwatlheng, remained behind, while others, who became known as BaBoloongwe, passed on to Kang. The latter again broke up, one section, under Modimo (by whose name they became known), going to live at the place subsequently called GooModimo, from which some afterwards returned to Letlhakeng and other portions of what is now the Kwena Reserve.

(b) Motswakhumô Kgosidintsi, accepted as the leading authority on Kwena law and history, told me that when the BaKwena came to Dithêjwane long, long ago, the place was inhabited by people known as BaKgwatlheng or BooMmaSeeisô; the BaKwena drove them away and occupied their land.

(c) These two accounts fit in reasonably well with the following story, told to me at Kanye (Ngwaketse Reserve) in May, 1938, by Matubi Lentswe, head of the Tlala ward of BaKgwatlheng and a prominent adviser of the present Ngwaketse Chief, Bathoeng II. He said that long ago the BaKgwatlheng were a separate tribe, living on the site of the present town of Lobatsi. Here they were found by the BaNgwaketse, who had but recently broken away from the BaKwena. The two tribes lived together amicably for some time, and their royal houses intermarried, Tau, Chief of the BaKgwatlheng, being the maternal uncle of Mongala, Chief of the BaNgwaketse. A dispute then arose between them, and the BaKgwatlheng migrated south-west to Segeng. Mongala and one of his regiments followed them up, but were defeated, Mongala himself being captured and then killed. When this news reached the main body of BaNgwaketse, Mongala's son and successor Moleta set out to avenge his father's death. The BaKgwatlheng, who were now ruled by Tau's grandson Seeisô, were decisively defeated and broken up. Some fled south to seek refuge among the BaRolong. Others fled west into the Kalahari Desert, to a region known as Ngologa, by whose name they have ever since been called. Others, again, fled north to Dithêjwane, where, as we have seen, they were subsequently found by the BaKwena. Seeisô himself, with part of his following, was taken captive and incorporated into the Ngwaketse tribe, where their descendants are found to this day.

(d) Finally, according to a brief unpublished historical sketch of the MaKgalagadi living in the Kgalagadi District,¹ the BaNgologa of that

¹ Compiled in the District Commissioner's Office, Kanye, in 1931; authorship unknown, and sources of information not listed.

District claim to have dwelt originally on the Kgoro Flats (east of Segeng) in the present Ngwaketse Reserve, from which (for some unspecified reason) they eventually migrated to their present home. According to this account, however, they are named not after the country they inhabit, but after the first chief under whom they came to their present home.

The texts reproduced below show that the dialect spoken by the MaKgalagadi differs in many respects from SeKwena and other dialects of "standard" Tswana, but that basically it belongs to the same language. Similarly, the few details given in them of custom show that culturally the MaKgalagadi also have much in common with the dominant Tswana tribes. Further research into their language, history and customs is, however, indispensable. It is evident that in the MaKgalagadi we have a very important source of information regarding Tswana origins which has only just begun to be tapped.

Kgalagadi

Kwena

I

I

BAKGALAGARI LE
BAK'WENEMAKGALAGADI LE
BAKWENA

Nna ke MoKgalagari, mme tholegong ya me ha to go bijwa BaKgalagari; k'a be pele ke MoK'wene. Mme ga bônats'héga k'a be ke le mothóhó sešabeng ša me; mme ha BaK'wene be mphithéla, ha be mphithéla mo Rithéjwane, ba be be ntyhukhuthya biló dzothé. K'a go thóka tshwak'a ke k'a riha, ke be ke sia, k'a ya go tséna Lethakeng, k'a be ke hetya ke nje ke siane, k'a ralala mahadze k'a ya go tséna bo-Kang. Ko hong k'a ya k'a hithéla leatši e le je legolo, k'a be ke boya ke tyhioga, ke ya go tséna kwa biriba bii k'a yó. Ke hithéla e le biriba héri, ke ša a dze yo o bi épilayo. K'a bo ke aga, k'a bo ke bija goló mhoo ke re, Maména a Barimo. Mme le ha go nje jwalo, lehadze ja be le sena madze. Ha biriba dze bi kgala, yaanong ya be e le botshéló jwa batyho ka hó ba k'a ipheméla k'a hó mo leubeng. K'a mošó phakéla kgoši e kua mokgoši go re go yé go rikwa riphólóhóló, mme ri kgwéetsijwe biribeng dzebiyong, mme ri to go wéla dzothé biribeng; jaanong ri bolaélwe biribeng k'a bigai, ri dyuélwe biribeng, jaanong go rorwa rinama ri ntšhejwa kgaité. Jwalo go simololwe ri rorélwa gau, ri khiuwa ke basari le banona. Goyé e re bohelong biriba bi katyēsélé, morahe o phatalajwe ke leatši. Mongwe e wele goo Tyawana, mongwe a sale e épa bigwere, o riha madze k'a zó.

Nna ke MoKgalagadi, mme motholegong ya me, ra tla ra bidiwa MaKgalagadi; ya re pele ke MoKwena. Mme ga bonala ka bo ke le motlhóšó mo sešabeng sa me; mme fa BaKwena ba mphithéla, ha ba mphithéla mo Dithéjwane, ba bo ba nthukhutha diló tsotlhe. Ka go tlhóka ke ka dira, ka bo ke sia, ka ya go tséna Letlhakeng, ka bo ke ntse ke feta ke siane, ka ralala mahatshe ka yo go tséna bo-Kang. Teng ka fitlhéla letsatsi e le le legolo, ka bo ke boa ke retologa, ka ya go tséna kwa didiba di leng teng. Ka fitlhéla e le didiba féla, ke sa itse yo o di epileng. Ka bo ke aga, ka bo ke bitsa goló foo ke re, Maména a Badimo. Mme le fa go ntse jalo, lefatshe la bo le sena metse. Ha didiba tse di kgala, jaanong ya bo e le botshéló bwa batho ka fa ba ka iphélang ka teng mo leubeng. Ka mosó phakéla kgoši ya kua mokgoši go re go iwé go dikwa diphólógóló, mme di lélékilwe kwa didibeng tseo, mme di tla wéla tsotlhe mo didibeng; mme jaanong di bolailwe mo didibeng ka digai, di buélwe mo didibeng, jaanong go rorwa dinama di ntshediwa kwa ntlé. Jalo go simololwa di rorélwa gae, di khiuwa ke basadi le banna. Go fitlhéla go re bofelong didiba di katehile, morahe o phatlaladiwe ke letsatsi. Mongwe a wele kwa goo Tawana, mongwe a sala a épa digwere, a dira metse ka tsóné.

Kgalagadi

Mme le ha go nnje jwalo, morafe o BaKgalagari BaK'wene ba be be itse k'o ba rula k'a yó, kgoši e to go nna e romêla batyho go ya go senka šehuba. Ha be tsêna k'a jô, BaKgalagari ba simolole go phutyha ribatyana, le bilô dzothê dze ba na nazô. Jaanong BaK'wene be boe. Go jwa mhoo, BaKgalagari ba simolola go rêk'a rithôbôlô le rimhóô le megoma le ripija. Ha MoK'wene e udzwa jwalo, e romêla batyho go ya go tyhukhutyha batyho bilô dzebiyong, gobé k'a BaKgalagari ba henyijwe, ga be go ša ratywe ba rua šengwe. BaKgalagari ba jwélêla be nnje be rêk'a bilô, bi tyhukhutyhwa héri. Gatsamaya monna-kgoši a udzwa borok'o ha go rihwa jwalo, a raa kgoši a re, "morafe wa go, i ye wa o henja, bôna ba go ntsheja lekgêtyhó, ba go rihêla bilô dzothê, mme ba lešê ba ruê šengwe le šengwe jwak'a tšona BaK'wene." Ka lehoko je ja ga Kgoširintsi, BaKgalagari ba jwa batyho, ba simolola go rêk'a rithôbôlô le rimhóô, ba jwélêla pele, go hithêla be jwa batyho. Bohelong ba simolola go kgêtyha lekgêtyhó ja ga Gôromênté, be nnje be ntsheja kgoši šehuba. Go jwa mmhong ba phatalala mo lehadzeng, be tšhuba leatši, bangwe ba ya goo Tyawana, bangwe ba ya ga MmaNgwato, bangwe ba ya tsibogong ja ga Setšhele, bangwe ba wela mmano Lethakeng, ba sia lehadze joo Morimo ntyatyeng ya leatši. Ha go rua Kgalagari, go rêwa go re ke lehadze je le kgalegilêgo, ga le na madze, le ha e le biépô.

Kwena

Mme le fa go ntse jalo, morafe o wa MaKgalagadi BaKwena ba bo ba itse kwa ba nnang teng, kgosi e tla nna e romêla batho go ya go senka sehuba. Ha ba tsêna teng, MaKgalagadi a simolola go phutha dibatana, le dilô tsotlhe tse ba nang natsô. Jaanong BaKwena ba boe. Go tloga foo, MaKgalagadi a simolola go rêka ditlhôbôlô le dikgomo le megoma le dipitsa. Ha MoKwena a utlwa jalo, a romêla batho go ya go thukhutha batho dilô tseo, ka gobo MaKgalagadi a fentswe, ga bo ga sa ratwe a rua sepê. MaKgalagadi a tswélêla pele a ntse a rêka dilô, a ntse a di thukhuthwa fêla. Ga tsamaya monna-kgoši a utlwa botlhoko fa go dirwa jalo, a raya kgosi a re, "morafe wa gago, o o fentse, bônê ba go ntshetsa lekgêthô, ba go dirêla dilô tsotlhe, mme ba lešê ba ruê sengwe le sengwe jaaka rona BaKwena." Ka lefoko le la ga Kgosidintsi, MaKgalagadi a tswa batho, ba simolola go rêka ditlhôbôlô le dikgomo, ba tswélêla pele go fitlhêla ba tswa batho. Bofelong ba simolola go kgêtha lekgêthô la ga Gôromênté, ba ntse ba ntshetsa kgosi sehuba. Go tswa foo ba phatlalala mo lefatsheng, ba tšhaba letsatsi; bangwe ba ya goo Tawana, bangwe ba ya ga MmaNgwato, bangwe ba ya tsibogong la ga Setšhele, bangwe ba wêla kwano Letlhakeng, ba tlogêla lefatše loo Modimo ntateng ya letsatsi. Ha go twe Kgalagadi, go rêwa go twe, ke lefatše le le sekaka, ga le na metse le fa e le diépô.

I

THE MAKGALAGADI AND THE BAKWENA

I am a MoKgalagadi, and from our beginning we have been called MaKgalagadi; but before that we were BaKwena. It seems that our people were weak; and when the BaKwena found us, at Dithêjwane, they deprived us of all our property. Because we could do nothing, we fled, we entered (the valley of) Letlhakeng and passed on, still fleeing, we passed through the land till we got to Kang. There we found that the sun was very strong, so we turned back, going to where the wells were. We found there were only the wells (and no people), we did not know who had dug them. We settled down (there), and we called that place "The Pits of the Ancestor Gods." Nevertheless, the country was lacking in water. When these wells dried up, they became the means by which people could live through the drought. In the morning early the Chief would raise a cry that the people should go out to chase game, and the animals were driven to these wells, into which they all fell; and then they were killed in the wells with spears, they were skinned there, and the meat was removed and carried outside. Then the people began to carry it home, it was carried by the women and the men. But at last the wells became trampled down, and the people were scattered by the sun. Some went to the country of the Tawana, others remained and dug up bulbs, from which they extracted water.

Nevertheless, the BaKwena knew where this tribe, the MaKgalagadi, was living, and their Chief used to send men to go and seek tribute. When these men got there, the MaKgalagadi would begin to gather game and all the (other) objects they had. Then the BaKwena would return home. From now on, the MaKgalagadi began to purchase guns and cattle and ploughs and pots. When the Kwena Chief heard this, he sent men to deprive the people of these objects, because the MaKgalagadi had been conquered, and he did not like them to own anything. The MaKgalagadi continued to purchase such objects, and continued to be robbed of them. At last the (Kwena) Chief's brother felt pity when this was done, and said to the Chief: "You have conquered your tribe, they pay tribute to you, they serve you in all things, now leave them so that they may own this and that just like us BaKwena." And through this word of Kgosi dints¹ the MaKgalagadi became people, they began to buy guns and cattle, and advanced until they became (civilised) people. At last they (also) began to pay hut-tax to the Government, although they continued to give tribute to the Chief. After this they scattered through the

¹ Younger brother of Sechele I, Chief of the BaKwena.

land, fleeing the (heat of the) sun ; some went to the country of the Tawana, others to that of the Ngwato, others went to the drift of Sechele,² others came here to Letlhakeng ; they left the land of Modimo³ on account of the sun. When people say " Kgalagadi," they mean it is a desert country, it has neither (surface) water nor duggen wells.

Kgalagadi

Kwena

II

ŠERÊTYÔ

BaKgalagari ba methala menntsi ; bangwe ba bina tou, bangwe ba bina kgôlé ya nare, ke go re ba bina nare k'a bo-yôna. Mo rinakong ja bogologolo, i ye go sena MoKgalagari yo a k'a nôjwa k'a kgôlé. Ha motyho e mo nôja k'a kgôlé, e be e le go re o ipolaaya ; ba re kgôlé e iphet yolé nôga, mme e lomé motyho yo o nôja MoKgalagari k'a yô. Le ha e le BaKgalagari, ba šaa nôjane k'a yô, le ha e le go e tolaganya, le ha e le go e gôga mborulong.

II

SERÊTÔ

MaKgalagadi a metlhale mentsi ; bangwe ba bina tlou, bangwe ba bina kgôlé ya nare, ke go re ba bina nare tôta. Mo dinakong tsa bogologolo, go no go sena MoKgalagari yo o ka bediwanng ka kgôlé. Fa motho a mmetsa ka kgôlé, e bo e le go re o a ipolaya ; ba re kgôlé e iphetolé nôga, mme e lomé motho yo o betsang MoKgalagadi ka yôné. Le fa e le MaKgalagadi, a sa itaane ka yôné, le fa e le go e tlola, le fa e le go e gôga mo bonnong.

II

TOTEMISM

The MaKgalagadi are of many kinds ; some venerate the elephant, others venerate the buffalo-hide thong, that is, they venerate the buffalo itself. In olden times, there was no MoKgalagadi who could be beaten with a (buffalo-hide) thong. Any man who beat him with (such) a thong would be killing himself ; they said the thong would transform itself into a snake, and bite the person who was beating the MoKgalagadi with it. And as for the MaKgalagadi themselves, they do not beat one another with it, nor do they step over it, nor do they drag it about in their homes.

² Probably Lophêphê, in the north-east of the Kwena Reserve, where Sechele I first began to rule his people.

³ GooModimo, to the north-west of the Kwena Reserve.

Kgalagadi

Kwenia

III

BASARWA LE
BAKGALAGARI

I ye ya re bogologolo BaSarwa ya be e le sešaba, ba šaa ruilwe ke BaKgalagari, e bile ba šaa ba laole. BaKgalagari ba be be rutya go laola BaSarwa, mme BaSarwa ba be be šaa ratye go laolwa ke BaKgalagari. E re ha BaKgalagari be roma BaSarwa, BaSarwa ba to riha šelô šešeyong k'a patyik'ô. Mme e re ha kgoši ya BaSarwa e udzwa ha BaKgalagari be patyik'a BaSarwa, e tale bogale tyhatya, mme e reš BaSarwa e re, le še k'a ja thwêla le riha še BaKgalagari ba re le še rihê. Mme e re ha BaKgalagari be ta modzeng wa BaSarwa, kgoši ya BaSarwa e re, BaKgalagari, tsamaya le yê go raya Seloilwe le re, ha ke mothanka wa go, o to go re o to go laola batyho ba me o mphenyê pele. Mme BaKgalagari ba ye go bolêlla kgoši Seloilwe wa nthā. Mme ha e udzwa a ririmale hêri. BaKgalagari ha be udzwa ba tale bogale tyhatya, ba re, Ngwana wa ga Morimo, ntsha batyho ba yê go tšhwara MoSarwa yoong, he to go udzwa puô e o e buayo, e re ha a šaa k'elwe a bolêwê, gobe o bua puô e e mašwê ha pele ga go. Mme Seloilwe a ririmale hêri. E re ha nte ga bolêwa riphôlôhólô, BaKgalagari ba kgoleise BaSarwa, mme ha kgoši ya bô e udzwa a tale bogale tyhatya.

Ga hetya lobak'a lo loleele, BaSarwa ba šaa udzwane le BaKgalagadi

III

MASARWA LE
MAKGALAGADI

E rile bogologolo MaSarwa ya be e le sešaba, a sa ruiwa ke MaKgalagadi, a bile a sa a laole. MaKgalagadi a bo a rata go laola MaSarwa, mme MaSarwa a bo a sa rate go laolwa ke MaKgalagadi. E re fa MaKgalagadi a roma MaSarwa, MaSarwa a tla dira selô seo ka patikô. Mme e re fa kgosi ya MaSarwa e utlwa fa MaKgalagadi a putika MaSarwa, e tlale bogale thata, mme e ree MaSarwa e re, le se ka la tlhôla le dira se MaKgalagadi a reng le se dirê. Mme e re fa MaKgalagadi a tla mo motseng wa MaSarwa, kgosi ya MaSarwa e re, MaKgalagadi, tsamayang le yê go raya Seloilwe le re, ga ke motlhanka wa gago, o tla re o tla laola batho ba me o mphenyê pele. Mme MaKgalagadi a ye go bolêtêla kgosi Seloilwe wa nthā. Mme fa a utlwa a didimale fêla. MaKgalagadi fa a utlwa a tlale bogale thata, a re, Ngwana wa ga Modimo, ntsha batho ba yê go tšhwara MoSarwa yoo, re tlê go utlwa puô e o e buang, e re fa a sa golegwe a bolawê, gonne o bua puô e e maswê fa pele ga gago. Mme Seloilwe a didimale fêla. E re fa go ne ga bolawa diphôlôgôlô, MaKgalagadi a rwadise MaSarwa, mme e re kgosi ya bônê e utlwa e tlale bogale thata.

Ga feta lebaka le leleele, MaSarwa a sa utlwane le MaKgalagadi.

Kgalagadi

gari. I ye ya ta ya re mosampe kgoši ya BaSarwa ya phutyha BaSarwa, ya ba raya ya re, a go rihwé mebohó le mekhwana, e to go re mosampe he be he lwa le BaKgalagari. Ga hetya lobak'a lo loleele, BaKgalagari ba šaa udzwane le BaSarwa. Ha MoKgalagari e roma MoSarwa, ha MoSarwa e gana, MoKgalagari o tyhola molamu, e bo e mo tyhuma k'a ó mo thogong. Mme e re kgoši ya BaSarwa e udzwa jwa, a tale bogale tyhatya. Mojwa ga lobak'a lo loleele, MoSarwa wa kgoši a rongwa ke kgoši ya BaSarwa, a mo raya a re, tsamaya o yé go raya kgoši Seloilwe o mo reé o re, ipaakanyé gobe ke bata go lwa le wé. Mme Seloilwe a še k'a a élatlhók'ó. Mme le ha go nnje jwalo, BaSarwa ba be be nnje be ipaakanyēja etywa. Mosampe MoSarwa a roméla MoKgalagaring, tsamaya le yé go raya MoKgalagari le re, BaSarwa i ye ba phutyhwéga, ba go letyilego go re o té ba lwé le wé. Mme kgoši Seloilwe wa nthā a phutyha BaKgalagari a re, MoSarwa a re o bata go lwa le nye, mme ipaakanyejé etywa ya MoSarwa.

Mme i ye ya re k'a leatši je MoSarwa o le beileyo go re ke ja etywa, BaKgalagari ba be be thwéla be ipaakanya ; leatsi ja hetya ja ya go phirima, mme ya re ha le phirima MoKgalagari a ntsha motyho yo o ya go bóna ha BaSarwa ba le hōna modzeng wa bó, mme a ya. Ya re k'a mqityišó BaSarwa ba be be loišije pina, mme MoKgalagari a

Kwena

Ga ba ga tla ya re motlha mongwe kgosi ya MaSarwa ya phutha MaSarwa, ya a raya ya re, a go dirwé metswi le dikgatla, e tla a re motlha mongwe re bo re lwa le MaKgalagadi. Ga feta lebaka le lelele, MaKgalagadi a sa utlwane le MaSarwa. Ha MoKgalagadi a roma MoSarwa, fa MoSarwa a gana, MoKgalagadi o tsaya molamu, a bo a mo thuba ka óné mo tlhogong. Mme kgosi ya MaSarwa e re e utlwa jaana, e tlale bogule thata. Morago ga lebaka le lelele, MoSarwa wa kgosi a rongwa ke kgosi ya MaSarwa, e mo raya e re, tsamaya o yé go raya kgosi Seloilwe o mo ree o re, ipaakanyé gonne ke batla go lwa nao. Mme Seloilwe a se ka a élatlhókó. Mme le fa go ntse jalo, MaSarwa a bo a ntse a ipaakanyetsa ntwa. Motlha mongwe MoSarwa a roméla kwa MaKgalagading, tsamayang le yé go raya MoKgalagadi le re, MaSarwa a phuthegile, ba go letile go re o tlé ba lwé nao. Mme kgosi Seloilwe wa ntla a phutha MaKgalagadi a re, MoSarwa a re o rata go tllhabana le lona, mme ipaakanyetseng ntwa ya MoSarwa.

Mme e ne ya re ka letsatsi le MoSarwa o le beileng go re ke lóné la ntwa, MaKgalagadi a bo a tlhotse a ipaakanya ; letsatsi la feta la ya go phirima, mme ya re fa le phirima MoKgalagadi a ntsha motho yo o yang go bóna fa MaSarwa a le teng mo motseng wa óné, mme a ya. Ya re ka maitisó MaSarwa a bo a loisitse pina, mme MoKgala-

Kgalagadi

boya a ya go raya kgoši a re, ba bina pina. Mme ya re phakêla etywa ya bolola ; ya re k'a makuku etywa ya hithêla BaSarwa be bina pina, bangwe be tšhwerwe ke borók'ô ; mme etywa ya thasêla. Ha etywa e thasêla, kgoši ya MoSarwa ya kua ya re, Seloilwe, leatši je ko ja bohêlô. Mme etywa ya tšhwarana, go simolola leatši le jwa, go ya motshegareng o mogolo etywa e nnje e tšhwaraganye. BaSarwa ba šula k'a mebôhó, mme ba šaa bolaye BaKgalagari ; mme BaKgalagari ba bolaya BaSarwa k'a bontsi, ba ba bolaa k'a polaô e kgolo. Go hithêlla go sala kgoši ya BaSarwa, mme ha a la a sala a sia, BaKgalagari ba mo lélêk'a. Ha be mo lélêk'a a be nte a helêlwa ke mebôhó yôthê, a re k'o o lupa k'a yô a eme, a hetyoge, a supe BaKgalagari k'a lorak'a, mme BaKgalagari ba toga ba lemoga ha nte a helêlwa ke me-bôhó moo khwaneng, mme ba mo tšhwara, mme Ramakobane a mo raya a re, hetya o tšênê k'a tatshe ga morityi, ke go kgaolê thôgô, kgoši ha e k'o e swêla mo leatšing ; mme e ta rula moritying, a be e kgaolwa thôgô. Go jweng ho kgoši ya BaKgalagari ya laola go re go phutyhwe basalagari le batyhwana mbancuana ba BaSarwana, go re ba išwe gaa. Go simologa ho, k'a lobak'a lwa kgoši Seloilwe wa ntha, BaKgalagari ba simolola go rua BaSarwa, go hityhelêla le jaanong. Be ruiwa k'a phenyô e ba henyijwe k'a yô ke kgoši Seloilwe wa ntha, morwa Morimo.

Kwena

gadi a boa a ya go raya kgosi a re, ba bina pina. Mme ya re phakêla ntwâ ya bolola ; ya re ka makuku ntwâ ya fitlhêla MaSarwa a bina pina, bangwe ba tšhwerwe ke borókô ; mme ntwâ ya tlhasêla. Ha ntwâ ya tlhasêla, kgosi ya MaSarwa ya kua ya re, Seloilwe, letsatsi leno ke lônê la bofêlô. Mme ntwâ ya tšhwarana, go simolola tsatsi le tswa, go ya motshegareng o mogolo ntwâ e ntse e tšhwaraganye. MaSarwa a hula ka metswi, mme a sa bolaye MaKgalagadi ; mme MaKgalagadi a bolaya MaSarwa ka bontsi, a a bolaya ka polaô e kgolo. Go fitlhêla go sala kgosi ya MaSarwa, mme fa a setse a sia, MaKgalagadi a mo lélêka. E rile ha a mo lélêka, a bo a feletswe ke metswi yotlhe, ya re kwa o lapang teng a eme, a fetoge, a supe MaKgalagadi ka leilhaka, mme MaKgalagadi a tloga a lemoga fa a feletswe ke metswi mo kgatleng, mme ba mo tšhwara, mme Ramakobane a mo raya a re, fete o tsêna kwa tlase ga moruti, ke go kgaolê tlhógô, kgosi ga e ke e swêla mo tsatsing ; a tla a nna mo moruting, a bo a kgaolwa tlhógô. Go tsweng foo kgosi ya MaKgalagadi ya laola go re go phutwê MaSarwa a sesadi le bana ba bannye ba MaSarwa, go re ba isiwê gae. Go simolola fa, ka lebaka la kgosi Seloilwe wa ntlha, MaKgalagadi a simolola go rua MaSarwa, go fitlhêlêla gompieno. Ba ruiwa ka phenyô a ba hentsweng ka yônê ke kgosi Seloilwe wa ntlha, morwa Modimo.

Kgalagadi

Seloilwe koyo o dzee Marapalale, Marapalale a dzala Seloilwe wa boberi, Seloilwe wa boberi a dzala nna, Gaoonwe.

Go simolola mo lobak'eng lolowô lwa bogologolo BaSarwa ba ruiwa e le balala, ba dzumisa ritišwa ja BaKgalagari be bolaya ribatyana, be ba bapalêla bigwere dzothê dza lehadze. Ha MoSarwa a bolaya phôlôhólô o tile go e rola mo boheng ba monye wa gwê, go be go sena MoSarwa yo a k'a riha šengwe le šengwe kgaitê ga monye wa gwê.

Kwena

Seloilwe ke êné yo o tsetseng Marapalale, Marapalale a tsala Seloilwe wa bobedi, Seloilwe wa bobedi a tsala nna, Gaoonwe.

Go simolola mo lebakeng leo la bogologolo MaSarwa a ruiwa e le balala, ba tsumisa dimpša tsa MaKgalagadi ba bolaya dibatana, ba ba bapalêla digwere tsotlhe tsa lefatshe. Fa MoSarwa a bolaya phôlôgólô o tsile go a rola mo lwa-peng lwa mong wa gagwê, go bo go sena MoSarwa yo o ka dirang sengwe le sengwe kwa ntlê ga mong wa gagwê.

III

THE BUSHMEN AND THE MAKGALAGADI

Long ago the Bushmen were a nation, they were not owned by the MaKgalagadi, nor did the latter govern them. The MaKgalagadi wished to govern the Bushmen, but the Bushmen did not wish to be governed by the MaKgalagadi. Whenever the MaKgalagadi used to send Bushmen about, the Bushmen did this through compulsion. And when the Chief of the Bushmen heard that the MaKgalagadi were compelling the Bushmen, he became very angry, and he spoke to the Bushmen saying, "You must no longer do what the MaKgalagadi say you should do." And when the MaKgalagadi came to the village of the Bushmen, the Bushmen Chief said, "MaKgalagadi, go and tell Seloilwe this: 'I am not your servant, if you wish to govern my people you must first conquer me.'"

And the MaKgalagadi went to tell Chief Seloilwe I. But when he heard them he simply kept quiet. The MaKgalagadi when they heard (the message) grew very angry, and said: "Son of Modimo, send people to go and seize that Bushman, so that we may hear what he is saying, and if he is not tied up (as a captive) let him be killed, for he is speaking insulting words before you." But Seloilwe merely kept quiet. And whenever wild animals were killed, the MaKgalagadi would make the Bushmen carry them, and when their Chief heard this he became very angry.

A long time passed, the Bushmen (still) did not agree with the MaKgalagadi. It came about once that the Bushman Chief assembled

the Bushmen and said to them, "Let arrows and quivers be made, the time may come when we will fight with the MaKgalagadi." A long time passed, the MaKgalagadi (still) did not agree with the Bushmen. If a MoKgalagadi sent a Bushman about, and the Bushman refused, the MoKgalagadi would take up a club and break in his head with it. And the Bushman Chief when he heard this became exceedingly wroth. After a long time, he sent one of his Bushmen saying, "Go and tell Chief Seloilwe, speak to him saying: 'Get ready, because I want to fight with you.'" And Seloilwe paid no attention. Nevertheless, the Bushmen kept on preparing for war. Then, at a certain time, the Bushman Chief sent (a message) to the MaKgalagadi, saying, "Go and say to the Kgalagadi Chief, The Bushmen have assembled, they are waiting for you to come so that they may fight with you." And Chief Seloilwe I called together the MaKgalagadi and said, "The Bushmen Chief says he wishes to fight with you, so prepare yourselves for war with him."

And on the day which the Bushman Chief had appointed as the day of battle, the MaKgalagadi tarried, preparing themselves; the sun went down and set, and when it had set the Kgalagadi Chief chose a man to go and see if the Bushmen were in their village, and he did so. It happened that after dark the Bushmen had started a dance, and the man came back and went to tell the Chief, "They are dancing." And early in the morning the army set out; and at daybreak it found the Bushmen still dancing, although some had fallen asleep; and the army fell upon them. When the army attacked, the Bushman Chief shouted out, saying, "Seloilwe, this day is the last." And the armies came together, starting at sunrise; and at noon they were still fighting together. The Bushmen shot with their arrows, but did not injure the MaKgalagadi; and the MaKgalagadi killed many of the Bushmen, killing them with great slaughter. At last there remained (only) the Chief of the Bushmen, and when he was already fleeing the MaKgalagadi pursued him. And as they were pursuing him, his (supply of) arrows got finished, and when he became tired he stood and turned, and fainted at the MaKgalagadi with reeds, and the MaKgalagadi soon noticed that he had no more arrows in his quiver, and they seized him, and Ramakobane said to him, "Come on into the shade, that I may cut off your head, a Chief cannot die in the sun;" he came and stood in the shade, and his head was severed. Thereupon the Kgalagadi Chief ordered that the Bushwomen and the small Bushman children should be rounded up and brought home. Beginning here, in the time of Chief Seloilwe I, the MaKgalagadi began to own the Bushmen, until the present time. They were owned because of the defeat inflicted upon them by Chief Seloilwe I, the son of Modimo.

Seloilwe is the man who begot Marapalale, Marapalale begot Seloilwe II, and Seloilwe II begot me, Gaoonwe.

Beginning from this time long ago the Bushmen were owned as serfs, they hunted with the dogs of the MaKgalagadi to kill beasts of prey, and collected for their masters all the wild bulbs of the land. If a Bushman kills a wild animal he must bring it to the home of his master ; there is no Bushman who can do anything without his master.

Kgalagadi

Kwena

IV

**BOTSHELÔ JWA
BAKGALAGARI**

IV

**BOTSHELÔ BWA
MAKGALAGADI**

BaKgalagari ke batyho m ba tshela k'a bosesane. I ye ya re bogologolo ba be be tshela k'a tshimo ; be lema k'a mangólê, ke go re be ragola bojwang k'a megoma ya biata, ba toge ba simolole go lema gaphi peo, ba e tyhélêla k'a mabu pele ga pula e ese e phaile. E re ha pula e na, bijwalô bi jwe, mme tshimo e gole go hithêlla be bôna še ba k'a tshela k'a šô.

Kgaitê ga tshimo, ba be be na le leanô je ba k'a bolaya riphólôhólô k'a jô. Ba epe lekuta, e ree ba le êpa ba thomele ringapô mo tyeng, mme ba simolole go bipa lekuta je, ba bee rikgong ha gorimo ga jô, ba bipe k'a bojwang ; mme lekuta je šeletyeri. E to go re ha riphólôhólô ri nje ri ta, ri to go wêla mo šeletyering. K'a mošô ha MoKgalagari e ta e to go hithêla phólôhólô mo šeletyering, a e bolaele mo tyeng k'a šegai ; gongwe a e hithêle e šwile, e bolailwe ke ringapô je ri thongwee mo šeletyering. Gongwe motyho a rae šelaga, ana mogôtsê,

MaKgalagadi ke batho ba ba tshelang ka bosesane. E ne ya re bogologolo ba bo ba tshela ka tshimo ; ba lema ka mangólê, ke go re ba tlhagola bojang ka megoma ya diatla, ba tloge ba simolole go lema gapê peo, ba e thêlêla ka mmu pele ga pula e ese e phaile. E re fa pula e na, dijwalô di tswe, mme tshimo e gole go fitlhêlla ba bone se ba ka tshelang ka sônê.

Kwa ntlê ga tshimo, ba bo ba na le leanô le ba ka bolayang diphólôgólô ka lônê. Ba epe lehuti, e re ba le êpa ba tlhomele mephatsa mo teng, mme ba simolole go bipa lehuti le, ba bee dikgong fa godimo ga lônê, ba bipe ka bojang ; mme lehuti le ke lemêna. E tla re fa diphólôgólô di ntse di tla, di tla wêla mo lemeneng. Ka mošô fa MoKgalagadi a tla, o tla fitlhêla phólôgólô mo lemeneng, a e bolaele mo teng ka segai ; gongwe a e fitlhêla e sule, e bolailwe ke mephatsa e e tlhometsweng mo lemeneng. Gongwe motho a thae tshipi, ampo mogala, le gônê go ntse

Kgalagadi

le góna go nnje go rihilwe k'a bithare go re biló b^e té bi tšhwarisiwé. Mogótsé ke šethatšhana še nne še kgwiwe še halwe, mme go jwa rithale mo tyeng, go simolokwe go logiwa mogala, o a logwa go tyheiwe riphó-lóhóló k'a ó, e to go bolaya riphóló-hóló jothé je ri mo lehadzeng. Ha o hithéla ho ekgwé e jela hó phutyi, o e tyhaye k'a mogótsé o, mme ha e ta e tyhola nama mo šekong e be e tšhwarisiva. BaKgalagari i ye ba re be to go dze mogótsé ba be be o bóna BaSarweng.

Gaphi MoKgalagari o tšhela k'a go dzumisa etšwa go bolaya bibatyana k'a yó. E re ha a k'a bóna bibatyana a ba a k'a rok'a rikobó, a simolole go apara. E re ha e ta e nnje e dzumile, ha e bóna ho tyau nte a jela hó phólóhóló o tyhola losólé lolowó lwa phólóhóló, a lo pege ; e re ha e na le thóbóló a e tyhee k'a yó, ke go re a reme maotswana a le mabedi, a a epile ; a tyhole thóbóló, a e bee ha gorimo ga maotswana, e tšhenyijwe lerumó mo thóbolong, a laele thóbóló ; mme a tyhole kgólé, a šege nama, a e hunele molomong wa thóbóló ; a rihe k'a ho o dze k'a hó, a be e toga. Ha tyau e ta e hetye e goge nama e e molomong wa thóbóló ; ha e e góga, thóbóló e be e šuléga. K'a mošó BaKgalagari ba tsamaye ba ye tyaung. Ha be ya tyaung ba tsamaye k'a ritšwa, be tšhotse rithóbóló le bigai, le ritšhaka le bilépé le melamu. Ha be jwa modzeng ba simolole go ikalaha, ba simolole k'a etšwa le MoSarwa, kó hó ba ikalahé

Kwena

go dirilwe ka melemó, go re diló di tlé di tshwarwé. Mosókêlatsebeng ke setlhatshana se tle se kgétlwe se falwe, mme go tswa ditlhale mo teng, go simolokwe go logwa mogala, o logélwa go re go thaiwe diphólógóló ka óné, o tla bolaya diphólógóló tsotlhe tse di mo lefatsheng. Ha o fitlhéla fa nkwé e jetseng phuti teng, o e thaya ka mogala o, mme fa e tla e tsaya nama mo seruing e bo e tshwarwa. MaKgalagadi a rile a tla itse mogala ba bo ba o bonye mo MaSarweng.

Gapé MoKgalagadi a tshela ka go tsumisa mpša go bolaya dibatana ka yóné. E re fa a ka bóna dibatana a ba a ka roka dikobó, a simolola go apara. E re fa a tla a ntse a tsumile, fa a bóna fa tau e jetseng teng phólógóló a tsee sekgéthé seo sa phólógóló, a se pege ; e re fa a na le tlhóbóló a e thaya ka yóné, ke go re a reme maotswana a le mabedi, a a epele ; a tsee tlhóbóló, a e bee fa godimo ga maotswana, a tsentse lerumó mo tlhóbolong, a laele tlhóbóló ; mme a tsee kgólé, a sege nama, a e hunelele mo molomong wa tlhóbóló ; a dire ka fa o itseng ka teng, a ba a tsamaya. Ha tau e tla e fitlha e góga nama e e mo molomong wa tlhóbóló ; fa e e góga, tlhóbóló e bo e huléga. Ka mošó Makgalagadi a tsamaya a ya taung. Ha a ya taung a tsamaya ka dimpša, a tshotse ditlhóbóló le digai le ditšhaka le dilépé le melamu. Ha a setse a dule mo motseng a simolola go ikalafa, a simolola ka mpša le MoSarwa, ke góné ba ikalahé morago.

Kgalagadi

ha mojwa. E re ha be tséna ha letyheong ja tyau, ha be hithéla nte ya šulwa ya toga, ba simolole ba tyhee leripa ja yó k'a melemó, go re ba e rebe logala, ba e latye. K'o ba e hithéla k'a yó, ba lwe na yó, ke go re ritšwa ri bo ri e bogola tyhatya, e to go re e ša lwa le ritšwa ba be e bolaya k'a rithóbóló. Mošuri wa nthā yo o rabile tyau ke mbolai wa yó, le ha e k'a boléwā ke wa boberi, ke go re éna ke motšhwaeri. Tyau e mbolai wa yó o isa letaló ja yó gabo-mogolo, ba e go mo ratsisa. Mme k'a mokgwa wa SeKgalagari šebatya še išwa kgošing, letaló ja tyau le ha e le ja ekgwé.

Kwena

E re ha a tséna fa mathaong a tau, ha a fitlhéla e hudilwe ya tsamaya, a simolole a rae letshoo la yóné ka melemó, go re a e rebe legala, a e late. Kwa a e fitlhélang teng, a lwe nayó, ke go re dimpša di bo di e bogola thata, e tla re e sa ntse e lwa le dimpša a bo a e bolaya ka ditlhó-bóló. Mohudi wa ntšha o o tlhā-bileng tau ke éné mmolai wa yóné, le fa e ka bolawa ke bobedi, ke go re ke éné mootlhedi. Tau e mmolai wa yóné o isa letlaló la yóné gabo-mogolo, ba ye go mo tlhatsisa. Mme ka mokgwa wa SeKgalagadi sebata se isiwa kgošing, letlaló la tau le fa e le la nkwe.

IV

THE LIFE OF THE MAKGALAGADI

The MaKgalagadi are people who live on very little. In the olden days they used to live on their fields ; they ploughed on their knees, that is, they rooted up the grass with short-handled hoes, after which they began to plough in the seed, they covered it over with earth before the first rains had fallen. And when the rain fell, the (young) shoots came out, and the (crop in the) field grew, until at last the people got that on which they could live.

Apart from the fields, the people had a device by means of which they could kill wild animals. They dug a hole, and when they had dug it they fixed pointed stakes in it, and then began to conceal it, they put wood on top of it, and covered it over with grass ; and this pit was a game-trap. Then it would happen that if animals came along, they would fall into the trap. The next day, when the MoKgalagadi came (there), he would find the animal in the trap, and kill it there with his spear ; sometimes he would find it dead, killed by the stakes fixed in the trap. Sometimes a man would set an iron trap, or a snare, and here also medicines were used, so that the animals should be caught. The little bush *mosókélatsebang* was pulled up and scraped into threads, which were plaited into string, it was plaited so that wild animals could be trapped

with it, it could kill all the wild animals in the land. If you find a spot where a leopard has eaten a duiker, you make a snare for it with this string, and when it comes and takes the meat in the snare it will be caught. The MaKgalagadi got to know about this snare by seeing it among the MaSarwa.

Again, the MoKgalagadi lives by making his dogs hunt and kill beasts of prey. If he manages to catch a beast of prey he can sew karosses and begin to clothe himself. If, while he is out hunting, he comes to a spot where a lion has eaten an animal, he takes the carcass of this animal and hangs it up; if he has a gun he sets a trap for the lion, by cutting two poles which he digs into the ground; he takes his gun and puts it on top of the poles, after placing a bullet in it, and cocks it; then he takes a thong, cuts the meat, and binds it to the mouth of the gun; he does the best he can, and then goes away. When the lion comes it starts to drag away the meat in the mouth of the gun; as it pulls, the gun is fired. The next day the MaKgalagadi go to the lion. As they go they are accompanied by their dogs, and carry guns, spears, axes and clubs. As soon as they have left the village, they begin to doctor themselves; they begin with the dogs and the Bushman (tracker), and then doctor themselves afterwards. When they come to the trap for the lion, if they find that the lion was hit but got away, they first doctor its spoor with medicines, to appease it, and then follow it up. Wherever they find it, they attack it, that is, the dogs will bark furiously at it, and while it is still fighting with the dogs they kill it with their guns.¹ The marksman who first hits the lion is (regarded as) its killer, and if it is (actually) killed by a second, the latter is termed "the one who brands it." The killer of the lion brings its skin to his maternal relations, who then purify him. And according to the custom of the MaKgalagadi, the skin of a beast of prey, whether lion or leopard, is brought to the Chief.

Kgalagadi

Kwena

V

V

TSEŌ YA BAKGALAGARI

TSEŌ YA MAKGALAGADI

Go na le mokgwa tsêb ya Ba-Kgalagari. Ha o ratya motyhwana wa mosejana, o to go bolêllwa ke badzari ba go, ba re, motyho yo ke mosari wa go. Mme ha o mo ratya

Go na le mokgwa wa tsêb ya Ma-Kgalagadi. Fa o rata ngwana wa mosetsana, o tla bolêlêlwa ke batsadi ba gago, ba re, motho yo ke mosadi wa gago. Mme fa o mo rata le o sa

¹ For an eye-witness account of a Kgalagadi lion hunt, cf. my paper, "A Native Lion Hunt in the Kalahari Desert", *Man*, vol. 32 (1932), pp. 278-82.

Kgalagadi

le o ša mo ratye, ga go tyhuše šengwe o be o tšhwanee go óbamelá molaó wa badzari ba go. Šebak'eng še o to go tsaya mosari, o to go bolélélwa ke bóna, ba to go ya go mbata, ba be be ya go mo tsaya k'a rimhóó. K'o gó o to go bóna go tsaya mosari wa go. Ha o šaa mo ratye, o to go mo tsaya héri k'a patyik'ó ya modzari wa go. Pele ga badzari ba go ba ese ba go nêé mosari, ha o k'a ke wa gopola go tsaya, le ha e go ipatéla, le ha e le go tshameka le batyhwana ba basejana. Mme ha badzari ba go e ba go senkéla mosari, o tšhwanee go mo tota, le o šaa mo ratye o boiha molaó. He le nnje le tšhela k'a boleele, ha Morimo o lo tyhusa lo bóna batyhwana, badzari ba go ba simolole go rēk'a batyhwana k'a go ntsha bogari.

I ye ya re bogologolo, a re ha o hithéla mongwe monona e tseile mosari, ha o mo ratya o bolélélé bagonye, o ba ree o re, ke ratya mosari yo, mme ke bata go mo rarisa. Ha be ratya ba rumele, ha ba šaa ratye, ba go ree ba re, o še k'a wa riha jwalo.

Ha mosari yo o mo senkwe ke badzari ba go a šale moncuana, mme o bóna mosari yo o gorileyo, o be o k'a mo tsaya, le o k'a bóna batyhwana naé, e be e le mbancuana; mme mosari yo o béélwééyo ha e gola e tséwa, o tile go riha mogolo mo go yo o hithélayo, jaanong bo-ngwané ke rikgoši ja yo o tseilwe e gorile, ana yo o tseilwe k'a tharišó. Ha go še bolwetse ana thótsé, go tšhwanee

Kwena

mo rate, ga go thuse sepé, o bo o tshwanetse go óbamelá molaó wa batsadi ba gago. Sebakeng se o tla tsayang mosadi, o tla bolélélwa ke bóné, ba tla ya go mmatla, ba ba ba ya go mo tsaya ka dikgomo. Ke góné o tla bónanang go tsaya mosadi wa gago. Ha o sa mo rate, o tla mo tsaya féla ka patikó ya motsadi wa gago. Pele ga batsadi ba gago ba ese ba go neele mosadi, ga o ka ke wa gopola go tsaya, le ha e le go ipatléla, le ha e le go tshameka le bana ba basetsana. Mme fa batsadi ba gago ba go senketse mosadi, o tshwanetse go mo tlotla, le o sa mo rate o boifa molaó. Ha le ntse le tshedile ka boleele, ha Modimo o le thusa le bóna bana, batsadi ba gago ba simolola go rēka bana ka go ntsha bogadi.

E ne ya re bogologolo, e re ha o fitlhéla monna mongwe a tser mosadi, ha o mo rata o bolélélé bagaeno, o ba ree o re, ke rata mosadi yo, mme ke batla go mo tlhudisa. Ha ba rata ba dumele, ha ba sa rate, ba go ree ba re, o se ka wa dira jalo.

Ha mosadi yo o senkilweng ke batsadi ba gago a sale mmótłana, mme o bóna mosadi yo o godileng, o bo o ka mo tsaya, le o ka bóna bana naé, e be e le ba babótłana; mme mosadiyo o beeletsweng fa a gola a tséwa, o tlıle go nna mogolo mo go yo o mfitłhelang, jaanong bana ba gagwé ke dikgosi tsa yo o tserweng a godile, ampo yo o tserweng ka go tlhadisiwa. Ha go le bolwetse ana thótsé, go

Kgalagadi

go rihwa ka tyhulaganyô, go alahiwa batyhwana ba loba lo logolo, jaanong go simolokwe go alahiwa mbancuana ha mojwa.

Go na le basari m ba tšhwane go re o ba tsee, ke ngwana wa ga malo-maago, le ngwana wa ga rraago-mogolo, le ngwana wa ga rrangwanaago. Ha wa tšhwanêna go tsaya ngwana wa ga mogolowo, le ha e le wa ga monnawo, le ha e le wa ga ndzalao. Ha o tšhwane go tsaya ngwana wa ga nogôngwane, go be e le kgalario; o tšhwane go tsaya ngwana wa ga rraggariago, k'a go re ke ndzalao.

Kuena

tshwanetswe go dira ka thulaganyô, go alafiwa bana ba lehwapa le legolo, jaanong go simolokwe go alafiwa ba babôtlana fa morago.

Go na le basadi ba ba tshwane-tseng go re o ba tsee, ke ngwana ga malomaago, le ngwana wa ga rraago-mogolo, le ngwana wa ga rrangwanaago. Ga wa tshwanêla go tsaya ngwana wa ga mogoloo, le fa e le wa ga monnao, le fa e le wa ntsalao. Ga wa tshwanêla go tsaya ngwana wa ga mmangwanaago, ka gobo ke kgaitradio; o tshwanetse go tsaya ngwana wa ga rraggadiago, ka go re ke ntsalao.

V

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE MAKGALAGADI

There are marriage customs among the MaKgalagadi. If you like a girl child, you will be told by your parents, who say, "That person is your wife." And whether you like her or whether you don't, it does not help at all, you must submit to the will of your parents. You will be told by them when it is time for you to take a wife, they will go to seek her, and they will marry her with cattle. That is the way in which you will get a wife. If you don't like her, you will just marry her because of the compulsion of your father. Before your parents have given you your wife, you cannot think of marrying, or of seeking your own bride, or of playing about with girls. And when your parents have sought you a wife, you must respect her, even if you don't like her you fear the law. And when you have lived together for some time, if God helps you you will have children, and then your parents begin to buy the children by taking out bride-wealth.

It happened in the olden days that if you found a certain man had married a woman whom you liked, you would tell your people, "I love that woman, and I wish to part her from her husband." If they like they agree, but if they do not wish it they say to you, "You must not do so."

If the woman sought by your parents is still a young child, and you see a grown woman, you can marry her, and you can have children by

her, (but) they will be the juniors ; and the woman who was betrothed for you will when she grows up be married (by you), she will be senior to the one whom she finds (already with you), and now her children will be chiefs over those of the woman married as an adult, or married after being parted from her (former) husband. In time of sickness, or when the first-fruits are being eaten, things must be done according to order of precedence : (first) the children of the great hut are doctored, and then those of the junior wives are doctored afterwards.

There are (certain) women whom you ought to marry ; these are the child of your maternal uncle, the child of your senior paternal uncle, and the child of your junior paternal uncle. You may not marry the child of your older brother, nor the child of your younger brother, nor the child of your cross-cousin. Nor may you marry the child of your maternal aunt, for she is your sister ; but you should marry the child of your paternal aunt, for she is your cross-cousin.

Kgalagadi

Kwena

VI

VI

LOŠO LWA BAKGALAGARI

LESO LA MAKGALAGADI

Ha motyho a la a šwa, batyho ba simolola go phutyhêga. Ba épa leletyhe ja gwê mo lehadzeng modzeng ; ha e le monye-legaa ba mo épêla mo sakeng. Mme ha go nnye go epiwa leletyhe ja gwê, go bo go na le motyho yo o ntshijweyo, e le ngaka, yo o baakanya bithare. Ha e bolok'wa go rihwa jwa : go bijwa bana ba gwê bothê, ba bahantyhana le ba basejanyana ; go be go senkilwe molori wa morijwa, o bohêlwee mo lebogong ja mošwi je le siamego, mme bo-ngwanê ba o hunelwe mo lebogong je le siamego, go simolola k'a yo mogolo, go isa go yo mbôtana. Go riha jwa, BaKgalagari ba bogologolo ba re, mošwi e be e le ke go re a rumerisa bo-ngwanê, le bo-ngwanê ba mo rumerisa. Mojwa ga mo, go simololwe go tyhêlêlwa. Ha e ga

Ha motho a sule, batho ba simolola go phuthêga. Ba épa lebitla la gagwê mo lefatsheng mo motseng ; ha e le mong-gae ba mo épêla mo sakeng. Mme fa go ntse go epiwa lebitla la gagwê, go bo go na le motho yo o ntshitsweng, e le ngaka, yo o baakanyang ditlhare. Fa a bolokwa go dirwa jaana : go bidiwa bana ba gagwê botlhe, ba basimanyana le ba basetsanyana ; go'bo go senkilwe molodi wa moretlwa, o bohêlelwe mo letsogong la mošwi le le siameng, mme bana ba gagwê ba o hunelwe mo lebogong le le siameng, go simolola ka yo motona, go ya kwa go yo mmôtlana. Go dira jaana, MaKgalagadi a bagologolo a re, mošwi e bo e le go re o dumedisa bana ba gagwê, le bana ba mo dumedisa. Morago ga mo, go simololwe go

Kgalagadi

hetywa, ngaka e tayo k'a molemó, o tšenyijwe madzeng, mme o bewa ha phupung ya mošwi; go thapisiwe bo-ngwané, go simolola k'a yo mogolo, go isa mo go yo moncuana. Go phatalalwe. Banona k'a leatši jeleyong ba to go robala ha kgota, basari be robala lobeng. Mme maitisiboa a leatši jeleyong go boléwé mhóó e e jwa mogóga. Ha e nje e jewa go phutyhwa marapó a yó othé, a go tyhéla ha motsotyelong o o ha phupung ya gwé, e be e le tyumerišó.

Go jweng ho, bagolo ba to go raya batyhwana molaó wa go re ba ithó-kómélé, ke go re ba lešé go tsamaya k'aola be tshameka le batyhwana ba basejana. Ngwana wa mosimane yo o gorileyo, ha e tseile, o rula kgaité ga mosari wa gwé; ha wa mosejana e tseilwe, e rula kgaité ga monona wa gwé. Nnalé wa batyhwana m, o rula kgaité ga monona. Bothé be letyile go alahiwa lošo lo. Kalahó e ba alaha lošo k'a yó ke e. Ba senka puri ba e bolaye, le ha e le mhóó; go senkilwe ngaka, e épé bithare dzothé, a bi relega k'a nama ya šeló še še bolailwego. Ha go rihwa jwa, go be go na le molemó o o tšhubilwego go riha tsithó. Ha melemó e e relešilwa e a bujwa, e thatolwayo, go silwe e e tšhubilweyo e tyhéla molemong o nte o relešilwe. Go bijwe batyhwana, mme ba je molemó o, o simolole go jewa pele ke yo mogolo, jaanong o jewa ke m babótlana; ha mojwa o jewa ke nnajwé wa bó, ha mojwa o bo o jewa ke batyho bothé ba losika lwa gwé.

Kwena

théléla. Fa go feditswe, ngaka e éla ka molemó, o tsentswe mo metseng, mme o bewa fa phupung ya mošwi; go tlhapisiwe bana ba gagwé, go simolola ka yo mogolo, go isa kwa yo mmótlana. Go phatla-lalwe. Banna mo letsatsing leo ba tla robala fa kgotleng, basadi ba robala kwa lwapeng. Mme maitisiboa a letsatsi leo go bolawe kgomo e e jewang mogóga. Ha e ntse e jewa go phuthwa marapó a yóné otlhe, a ya go thélwa fa motshotelong o o fa phupung ya gagwé, e be e le tumedisó.

Go tsweeng fa, bagolo ba tla naya bana molaó wa go re ba ithó-kómélé, ke go re ba lešé go tsamaya le go tshameka le bana ba basetsana. Ngwana wa mosimane yo o godileng, fa a tsere, o nna kwa ntlé ga mosadi wa gagwé; fa wa mosetsana a tserwe, o nna kwa ntlé ga monna wa gagwé. Mma-bana ba, o nna kwa ntlé ga monna. Botlhe ba letile go alafiwa leso le. Kalafó e ba alafang leso ka yóné ke e. Ba senka pudi ba e bolaye, le fa e le kgomo; go senkilwe ngaka, e epe ditlhare tso-tlhe, e di apee ka nama ya seló se se bolailweng. Ha go dirwa jaana, go bo go na le molemó o o tšhubilweng go dira tsithó. Fa melemó e e apeilweng e budule, e a tlhatlokwa, go silwe e e tšhubilweng e thélwe mo molemong o o nong o apeilwe. Go bidiwe bana, mme ba ja molemó o, o simololwe go jewa pele ke yo mogolo, jaanong o jewa ke ba babótlana; fa moragó o jewa ke mmaabó, fa moragó o bo o jewa ke batho botlhe ba lesika la gagwé.

Kgalagadi

K'a mošó gaphi go boléwa puri e e alaha mosari, e alahiwa bošwagari. Go alaha bošwagari ba relega bithare k'a puri, e jewa ke mošwagari; ha e relegwa e relegwa mehama, mokokoto wa yó le thógó e be e le biló dze ha bi jewa ke mošwagari. Ba be be tšhubile bithare, ba bi sile, mme ba toje mošwagari k'a zó. Go bo go na le monhu o ba o ntshije mo šelong, o bo o tšenyijwe bithare; ha a la a todzwa molemó o montsho o, a tšhujwe mokokotong k'a ó. Ba to go simolola go mo rweša šéétyé še mošongwe, be še hetyorile, ba mo thanorise rik'obó, ba mo rweše phuane. Jaanong ba simolole go mo tsamaisa modzeng, e tyélwee ke ringaka ja basari pele, be tshotse ritshipi, be etse be ri leja, mosari yo e tshotse molemó e etse e o lathéla modzeng.

Ba to go re e ba riha jwalo, be tyhola lobak'a lo loleele go ese go alahiwe batyhwana le ha e le nnalé wa bó, ke go re monona e rula kgaité ga mosari wa gwé, le ha e le mosari kgaité ga monona wa gwé, le ha e le nnalé wa bó a šaa tsewe. E to go re ha mojwa ga lobak'a lo loleele, bagolo ba simolola go riha le kakayó ya go re go alahiwe batyhwana. Kalahó e, e bijwa phóróló ya lošó. Go senkwe ngaka le bagolo m ba dze melaó le mekgwa ya lošó. Ngaka e to go senka bithare, dze bi relelwago le dze bi tšhujwago, bi silwa, le dze bi rengwa héri bi silwa bi le tyala. Go simolole go tyholwa molemó o o tyala, go beolwe batyhwana, ba be be

Kwena

Ka mosó gapé go bolawa pudi e e alafang mosadi, o alafiwa boswagadi. Go alafa boswagadi ba apaya ditlhare ka pudi, e jewa ke moswagadi; ha e apeiwa e apeiwa mfama, mokotlo wa yóné le tlhógó e bo e le diló tse di sa jeweng ke moswagadi. Ba bo ba tshubile ditlhare, ba di sile, mme ba tlotse moswagadi ka tsóné. Go bo go na 'le mongópó o ba o ntshitseng mo selong, o bo o tsentswe ditlhare; ha a sena go tlodiwa molemó o montsho o, a thugwe mo mokokotlong ka óné. Ba tla simolola go mo rweša setlhako se le sengwe féla, ba se fetotse, ba mo tlhanodise dikobó, ba mo rweše puane. Jaanong ba simolole go mo tsamaisa mo motseng, a eteletsewe pele ke dingaka tsa basadi, ba tshotse ditshipi, ba etle ba di letsa, mosadi yo o tshotse molemó a etle a o latlhéla mo motseng.

Ba tla re ba sena go dira jaana, ba tsaya lebaka le leleele go ese go alafiwa bana le ha e le mmaabó, ke go re monna o nna kwa ntlé ga mosadi wa gagwé, le ha e le mosadi kwa ntlé ga monna wa gagwé, le ha e le mmaabó a sa tsewe. E tla a re ha moragó ga lebaka le leleele, bagolo ba simolola go nna le kakanyó ya go re go alafiwa bana. Kalafi e, e bidiwa go fóléla leso. Go senkwe ngaka le bagolo ba ba itseng melaó le mekgwa ya leso. Ngaka e tla senka ditlhare, tse di apeilweng le tse di tshujwang, di silwa, le tse di rengwang di silwa di le tala. Go simololwa go tséwa molemó o o tala; go beolwa bana, ba ba fórólwa ka

Kgalagadi

hórólwe k'a ó ; go tyholwe molemó o o tshubilwego o o sirilwego, o tyhélwe mo go o o relešilwego, o simolole go jewa ke batyhwana bothé, be o jela ha lobeng lwa yo mogolo. K'a mošó go tyholwe batyhwana, ba išiwe lobeng lwa yo mogolo, a ye go ba alaha. Ko go mokgwa o nne go alahiwe lošó lwa motyho k'a ó. Jaanong mongwe le mongwe o to go rula mo lobeng lwa gwé.

Kwena

óné ; go tséwa molemó o o tshubilweng o o sidilweng, o thélwe mo go o o apeilweng, o simolole go jewa ke bana botlhe, ba o jela fa lwapeng lwa yo mogolo. Ka mošó go tséwa bana, ba isiwe lelwapeng lwa yo mogolo, a ye go ba alafa. Ke óné mokgwa o nne go alafiwa leso ka óné. Jaanong mongwe le mongwe o tla nna mo lwapeng lwa gagwé.

VI

DEATH CUSTOMS OF THE MAKGALAGADI

When someone has died, the people begin to assemble. They dig his grave in the ground in the village ; if he was the head of a household, they dig it in the cattle-kraal. And while his grave is being dug, there is a man specially selected, he is a doctor, who is to prepare the medicines. When the dead person has been buried, this is done : all his children are called, the boys and the girls ; some inner bark of the *Grewia cana* is sought, and tied round the right arm of deceased, and also round the right arms of his children, beginning with the eldest, and going down to the youngest. By so doing, the olden MaKgalagadi used to say, he is made to greet his children, and the children also greet him. After this, they begin to fill in the grave. When this is done, the doctor comes with medicine put into water, and places it on the grave of the dead person ; the latter's children are then washed (with it), beginning with the eldest, and going down to the youngest. The people now scatter. The men on this day sleep at the forum, the women sleep in the homestead (of the dead person). And in the afternoon of this day an ox is slaughtered to be eaten as the funeral-feast. While it is being eaten all its bones are gathered together, and thrown on to the dust on the grave of the dead person, as a sign of greeting.

After this, the old people will give the children instructions to take care of themselves, that is, they must cease going about and " playing " with girls. An adult son, if married, must stay apart from his wife ; a daughter, if married, must stay apart from her husband. The mother of these children must stay apart from any man. All wait to be doctored because of this death. The treatment used in doctoring for death is as

follows. They seek a goat or an ox and kill it ; a doctor is then sought, who digs medicines of all kinds, which he cooks with the meat of the slaughtered animal. When this has been done, there is a medicine which is burned to make the magic paste. When the medicines which have been cooked are done, they are taken off the fire, and that which has been burned is ground and added to them. The children are called, and they eat this medicine ; it is eaten first by the eldest, and then by the younger ones ; afterwards it is eaten by their mother, and finally it is eaten by all the people of deceased's family.

The following day, again, a goat is slaughtered to doctor the wife, she is doctored for widowhood. In doctoring for widowhood, they cook medicines with the goat, which is eaten by the widow ; when it is cooked, they cook the side, its backbone and head are portions which are not eaten by the widow. They have burned and ground medicines, and anoint the widow with them. There is also the big intestine which they have taken from the animal ; it is dipped into the medicines, and when the widow has been anointed with this black medicine, she is beaten on the spine with this intestine. Then they begin to make her wear only one sandal, which has been reversed, they make her turn her skin cloaks inside out, and make her wear a skin cap. Then they start walking her through the village ; she is preceded by the doctors of women, carrying bells which they play as they go along, while the woman carries a medicine which she throws about the village as she goes along.

When they have done this, they wait a long time before the children and their mother are doctored, during which a man stays apart from his wife, and a woman from her husband, while their mother may not be married (again). Then, after a long time, the old people decide that the children should be doctored. This doctoring is called "to recover from death." A doctor is sought, and the old people who know the laws and customs of death. The doctor looks for medicines, those which are cooked and those which are burned, and others are cut and ground while still green. They start by taking the green medicine ; the children are shaven, and rubbed with this medicine ; then the medicine which has been burned and ground is taken and added to that which has been cooked, and all the children begin to eat it, they eat it at the home of the eldest. The next day the children are taken to the home of the eldest, and he doctors them. This is the manner in which they always doctor for death. Then each of them will stay in his own home.

Kgalagadi

Kwena

VII

VII

POLÊLO YA GA GAOONWE

POLÊLO YA GA GAOONWE

K'a ngwaga o i ye ke belegwa k'a ô, i ye BaKgalagari ba ša nnje ba le mo lehihing je le jaanong ba mo go jô. Ke udzwa mha e le modzari wa me i ye e totilwe ke BaKgalagari, be mo udzwa, e bile be mo rihêla. Mme ya re ha re tyhutyhuga k'a bôna ha go na le morutyi yo o rutya lehoko ja Morimo, leina ja gwê e bijwa Motswasele Setšhele. Mme a be e rutya BaKgalagari, e re ba thabologê, e re ba lathê melemô ya SeTšwana, e re batyho ba še k'a ba tsaya lehuha; mme BaKgalagari ba be be bôna go re o bua ripuô ja gwê engwe, BaKgalagari ba sé k'a ka rabologa.

Ha ke ninje ke gola k'o ke thaleha k'a yô, k'a be ke le mohantyhanyana yo o ratya go lesa. Mme k'a be ke na le khonne, ke mo nyatsije; ha maitsiboya re gorôša, ha e re o angwa puri, ke mo tose mo go yô. Ha he ya gaya he ya kgoteng, he robala ha kgota; k'a maityišô he ya go ityiša lobeng lwa ga mmê; ha he hiwa go ja, ha a k'a tyabola pele ke be ke nyêlêla, ke bo ke tyhola ke hutyêga, k'a rihêla jwalo ruri. I ye ya re mosampe tatê a he ha bogôbê, khonne ya be e tyabola, ha e ngatyha k'a be ke tyhola ke hutyêga, tatê a be e ratya go mpolaa. K'a mošô ga bo go rajwa ripuri ja ripholo ri le tyharo. Leatši jeleyo ha še k'a ha ya go lesa, ha thôla mo gaya. Go relešikwe šerôbê, mme ha šerôbê e ša bujwa, k'a tšholêlwa le khonne

Ka ngwaga o ke tsetsweng ka ôné, MaKgalagadi a sa ntse a le mo lefšing le le jaanong ba mo go lônê. Ke utlwa fa motsadi wa me a ne a tlotlikwe ke MaKgalagadi, ba mo utlwa, e bile ba mo dirêla. Mme ya re fa ke thuthuga ka bôna fa go na le moruti yo o rutang lefoko la Modimo, leina la gagwê a bidiwa Motswasele Setšhele. Mme a bo a ruta MaKgalagadi, a re ba tlhabologê, a re ba latlhê melemô ya SeTswana, a re batho ba se ka ba tsaya lehuha; mme MaKgalagadi ba bo ba bôna go re o bua dipuô tsa gagwê fêla a le esi, MaKgalagadi a se ka a tlhabologa.

Ha ke ntse ke gola kwa ke tlhalefang teng, ka bo ke le mosimanyana yo o ratang go disa. Mme ka bo ke na le mogolole, ke mo nyatsa; ha maitsiboa re gorosa, ha a re o anya pudi, ka mo tlose mo go yônê. Fa re ya gae re ya kgotleng, re robala fa kgotleng; ka maitišô re ya go itisa kwa lwapeng lwa ga mmê; fa re fiwa dijô, fu a ka tabola pele ke bo ke befêla, ke bo ke tsaya ke tholola, ka dirêla jalo ruri. Ya re motlha mongwe rrê a re fa bogôbê, nkgonne a bo a tabola, fa a ngatha ka be ke tsaya ke tholola, rrê a ba a rata go mpolaya. Ka mošô ga bo go tlhajwa dipudi tse dipholo di le tharo. Letsatsi leo ra se ka ra ya go disa, ra tlhóla mo gae. Go apeilwe serôbê, mme fa serôbê se sena go butswa, ka tšholêlwa le nkgonne mo

Kgalagadi

mpijameng, k'a tyhola k'a baya ha pele ga gwê, a be a tyabola, k'a be ke tšholeja pijana ke hutyéga. Tatê a mpoja, k'a mo raya k'a re, moya wa me wa bo o ntyhutyga go re ke mogolo mo go é. Tatê a be e raya malome e re, tyhola tyhupa o mo nôtyé; malome a gana, a re, ke motogolo wa me, ke a go be ke mo rêra. Tatê a mo raya a re, tyabola letôra o mo phuwê k'a jó, o bo o mo nôtya. K'a re ke to go mo sia, mme a hološa tyhupa mmariabeleng a eto a ntyélêka, mme k'a ragoga. Ha ke nnye k'a ragošile k'a mo šêba, ha ke mo šêba k'a be ke hithêla a le hautyhwane le no. Ha ke ragoga lekuta je basari ba épa mabu mo go jó ja bo le le hautyhwane le no, ha ke re ke ya le tola k'a be ke wêla mo tyeng ga jó, a be e ntšhwara e nnôtya. Ha mme e nkudzwa ke lela, le éna a lela. Maitsiboya, ha leatši e ja phirima, ha ke jwa sakeng k'a ya lobeng lwa ga mmê, mme ya re k'a maityišô mmê a nnaya bogôbê, a re ke jê le khonne, mme ha e tyabola pele k'a nyélêla, mme tatê a ratya go mpolaya. Go jwa mhoo k'a bakêla go thwêla ke nyatsa khonne.

K'a šebak'a šengwe ha ya Mo-Kwena go rutywa ke morutyi wa batyhwana, mme tatê a tyhola bana ba gwê bothê, a ba tšenya mo šekweleng; nna k'a be ke na le thaloganyônyana e še k'ae. Ya re k'a ngwaga wa 1923 a he tyhola, he le bahantyhana he le tyityane, a he nere mo Molepolole, he tile go tšêna šekwele. Mme ya re he le mo šekweleng, mogolele le bo-monnawê

Kwena

pitsaneng; ka tsaya ka baya fa pele ga gagwê, a bo a tabola, ka bo ke tsholetsa pitsana ke tholola. Rrê a mpotsa, ka mo raya ka re, moya wa me wa bo o nthuta go re ke motona mo go éné. Rrê a bo a raya malome a re, tsaya thupa o mo iteyé; malome a gana, a re, ke motlogolo wa me, ke ka tla ka bo ke mo rôma. Rrê a mo raya a re, tabola molôra o mo phuê ka ôné, o bo o mo itaya. Ka re ke tla mo sia, mme a holosa thupa mo mariabeleng a ntlo a ntélêka, mme ka ragoga. Fa ke ntse ke ragogile ka mo gadima, ka bo ke fitlhêla a le gauhinyana le nna. Fa ke ragoga lehuti le basadi ba épang mmu mo go lônê la bo le le gautshwane le nna, fa ke re ke le tlola ka bo ke wêla mo teng ga lônê, a bo a ntshwara a mpetsa. Fa mmê a nkutlwa ke lela, le éné a lela. Maitsiboa, fa letsatsi le phirimile, ha ke tswa kwa sakeng ka ya kwa lwapeng lwa ga mmê; mme ya re ka maitišô mmê a nnêla bogôbê, a re ke jê le nkgonne, mme fa a tabola pele ka befêla, mme rrê a batla go mpolaya. Go tswa foo ka bakêla go tlhola ke nyatsa mogolole.

Ka lebaka lengwe ra ya Mo-Kwena go rutwa ke moruti wa bana, mme rrê a tsaya bana ba gagwê botlhe, a ba tšenya mo sekweleng; nna ka bo ke na le tlhaloganyônyana e se kae. Ya re ka ngwaga wa 1923 a re tsaya, re le basimane re le barataro, a re tlisa mo Molepolole, re tlile go tsêna sekwele. Mme ya re re le mo sekweleng, mogolole le bo-monnawê

Kgalagadi

ba ga naangwané ba sia šekwele, ha be nnye be udzwa BaKgalagari be re i ye ba rék'isiwa, ba be be boëla gaa. K'a be ke sala mo šekweleng ke na nongwe. Ha ke nnye ke le mo šekweleng BaKgalagari ba be be šaa ratye, be re taté i ye a ntyhék'isa.

Mme ha ke nnye ke jwélélá le šekwele, i ye ya re mosampe ya re bikwele bi kgaoga barutyi ba re, ke še k'a k'a ya gaa. Sebak'eng šešeyo k'a be ke na le mogolele. Mosampe go le Sondaga k'a hisa eto mo Hosteleng, ka bóna he boléwa ke bitammana mo tyeng, mme biló dzothe dza bahantyhana dza šela mo tyeng. Mme ha moperesita e mpoja e re, nte wa re o to go hisa eto wa bo o reng, k'a re moperesita ke bóna re boléwa ke bitammana; mme a bóna go re ke rihwa ke botyhwana. BaK'wene ba re, a MoKgalagajana yo a lathélwe molelong a šé, k'a go re nte a hisa bilwana dza batyhwana beetšho. Morafe wa BaK'wene wa be o phutyhešile, ya be e le nakó ya rikéréké ja motshegare ri jwa, mme phutyhégo ya London le ya Church of England ja be ri phutyhešile, mme batyho bothé ba bóna go re ke rihwa ke botyhwana. Ha mojwa ga mhoo ha ya riholidaying. Mme ha bikwele bi simologa, mogolele a sala gaa, a raya taté a re i ye a gola. Mme k'a ta mo šekweleng, k'a rula ke na nongwe, ke le MoKgalagajana ha gare ga batyhwana ba BaK'wene. Mme k'a be ke ityhutya k'a pelo-tyelele, ke šaa ratye go sia šekwele, taté a ese e re ke še sié.

Kwena

ba ga mmangwanaagwé ba tlogéla sekwele, fa ba ntse ba utlwa MaKgalagadi a re ba rékisiwa, ba bo ba boëla gae. Ka bo ke sala mo sekweleng ke le nosi. Fa ke ntse ke le mo sekweleng MaKgalagadi a bo a sa rate, ba re rré o nthékisitse.

Mme fa ke ntse ke tswélélá le sekwele, e ne ya re motlha mongwe ya re dikwele di kgaoga baruti ba re, ke se ka ka ya gae. Sebakeng seo ka bo ke na le mogolole. Motlha mongwe, go le Sondaga, ke fisa ntlo mo Hosteleng, ke bóna go re re bolawa ke ditampana, mme diló tsotlhe tsa basimane tsa fšwela mo teng. Mme fa moperesita a mpotsa a re, e rile o tla fisa ntlo o no o reng, ka raya moperesita ka re, ke bóna re bolawa ke ditampana; mme a bóna go re ke dirwa ka bonyana. BaKwena ba re, a MoKgalagatsana yo a latlhelwe mo molelong a fšwé, ka go re o fisitse dilwana tsa bana ba rona. Morafe wa BaKwena o no o phuthegile, e ne e le nakó ya dikéréké tsa motshegare di tswa, mme phuthégó ya London le ya Church of England tsa bo di phuthegile, mme batho botlhe ba bóna go re ke dirwa ke bonyana. Fa moragó ga moo, ra ya diholidaying. Mme fa dikwele di simolola mogolole a sala kwa gae, a raya rré a re o godile. Mme ka tla mo sekweleng, ka nna ke le nosi, ke le MoKgalagadi fa gare ga bana ba BaKwena. Mme ka ithuta ka pelo-telele, ke sa rate go tlogéla sekwele, rré a ese a re ke se tlogélé.

Kgalagadi

Ya re k'a ngwaga wa 1931 Ba-Kgalagari ba ntšenya moya o o bosula, k'a sia šekwele k'a ya bogwêra; tatê a re wa mpuša, e re ke tē šekweleng, BaKgalagari ba gana, mme k'a ya bogwêra, ha ke hija k'a boêla šekweleng. Mme ha ke nnje ke le mo šekweleng, ya re k'a bi-17th dza Phukwi, ngwaga wa 1932, mogolele a šwa. Ha a la a šwa k'a ratya go ya gaa, mme tatê a gana. Ga hetya kgweri ri le ri nê, ya re k'a kgweri ya Thakole e le 29, mo ngwageng wa 1933, tatê a šwa, mme k'a bo ke nnje ke le mo šekweleng. K'a ngwaga wa 1934 BaK'wene ba nketšha mo šekweleng le booRaGôrômêntê, mme ba nkiša gaya, k'a be ke hetya ke ya le nêga; go rua, ke yê go phutya lekgêtyhó ja BaKgalagari. Mme ha ke jwa k'a yó, k'a bóna go re BaK'wene i ye ba ntšhenyija tyhutyó, k'a i ye ba nketšha mo šekweleng ke le mo lokwalong lwa botyityane lwa Se-Engliši; mme k'a be ke rula le BaKgalagari, thógó ya me ya be e ntšhohalêla ruri.

Kwena

Ya re ka ngwaga wa 1931 Ma-Kgalagadi a ntsenya mowa o o bosula, ka tlogêla sekwele ka ya bogwêra; rrê a re wa mpusa, a re ke tlê sekweleng, MaKgalagadi a gana, mme ka ya bogwêra, fa ke fitlha ka boêla mo sekweleng. Mme ya re ke ntse ke le mo sekweleng, ya re ka di-17th tsa Phukwi, ka ngwaga wa 1932, mogolole a swa. Fa a sena go swa ka rata go ya gae, rrê a gana. Ga feta kgwedi di le nnê, ya re ka kgwedi ya Tlhakole e le 29, mo ngwageng wa 1933, rrê a swa, mme ka bo ke ntse ke le mo sekweleng. Ka ngwaga wa 1934 BaKwena ba nntsha mo sekweleng le booRaGôrômêntê, mme ba nkisa gae, ka bo ke feta ke ya le naga; go twe, ke yê go phutha lekgêthó la MaKgalagadi. Mme fa ke tswa teng, ka bóna go re BaKwena ba ntshenyeditse thutó, ka ba nntshitse mo sekweleng ke le mo lekwalong la borataro la SeEnglish; mme ka be ke nna le MaKgalagadi, tlhógó ya me ya bo e ntshofalêla ruri.

VII

THE STORY OF GAOONWE

In the year in which I was born, the MaKgalagadi were still in the darkness in which they now are. I understand that my father was honoured by the MaKgalagadi, they listened to him, and they also served him. And when I grew up I found that there was a man teaching the word of the Lord, his name was Motswasele Sechele. And he preached to the MaKgalagadi, telling them that they should become converted and throw away their Tswana medicines, and that people should not practise polygamy; but the MaKgalagadi saw that he was alone in what he said, and they did not become converted.

While I was still growing to the age of discernment, I was a lad who loved to herd livestock. I had an older brother, whom I used to slight ; in the afternoon, on coming home (from the veld), when he wished to suck a goat, I would push him away from it. When we got home we went to the forum and slept there ; then after dark we went to pass the time in my mother's homestead, and when we were given food, if he helped himself first I became sullen and took and spilled it, I really did so. It once happened that my father gave us some porridge ; my brother took a handful, and as he was breaking it up I took and threw it to the ground, and my father almost killed me. The next day three big he-goats were slaughtered. This day we did not go out to herd, but stayed at home. The blood (of the goats) was cooked, and after it was done my brother and I were given some in a little pot ; I took and put it before him, he helped himself, and I lifted up the pot and poured out its contents. My father asked me (why I had done so), and I told him that my spirit had taught me I was senior to my brother. My father then spoke to my maternal uncle, saying : " Take a lash and whip him ; " but my uncle refused, saying, " He is my nephew, and perhaps I have spoiled him." My father replied, " Take some ash and dust him with that, but you must also whip him." I tried to run away from him, but he took a cane from the veranda of the hut and pursued me, and I ran with all my might. As I was still running, I looked back at him, and I found that he was close to me. As I ran there was close to me a hole from which the women used to dig out earth, and when I tried to jump over it I fell in, and he caught and beat me. When my mother heard me crying, she also cried. In the evening, after the sun had set, when I came from the cattle-kraal I went to my mother's homestead ; and after dark she gave me porridge, saying that I should eat it with my brother, but when he helped himself first I became sulky, and my father almost killed me. From now on I ceased entirely from slighting my older brother.

There came a time when we went to the town of the BaKwena to be taught by the teacher of children ; and my father took all his children and put them into the school ; I already had some understanding. It was in the year 1923 that he took us, we were six boys, and brought us to Molepolole, we came to enter the school. And while we were at school, my older brother and his juniors, the sons of his maternal aunt, left the school, for they used to hear the MaKgalagadi say that they had been sold, and they returned home. I remained at school all by myself. But while I was there the MaKgalagadi did not like it, they said my father had sold me.

And while I continued my schooling, it once happened that when the schools broke up the teachers said I should not go home. At that

time I was still together with my older brother. One day, it was a Sunday, I set fire to a hut in the hostel, for I found that we were being tormented by sand-bugs, and all the belongings of the boys were also burned. And when the priest asked me "Why did you burn the hut?" I told him it was because I found that we were being tormented by the bugs; and he saw that I had been motivated by sheer childishness. But the BaKwena said, "Let this mere MoKgalagadi be thrown into the fire and burn, because he has burned the belongings of our children." The Kwena tribe was gathered together, it was at the time when people were coming out of the afternoon Church services, and the congregations of both the London Missionary Society and the Church of England came together, and all the people found that I had been acting through mere childishness. After this, we went on our holidays. And when the schools opened again, my older brother stayed at home, telling my father that he had grown up. But I came back to school, I was there alone, I was the only MoKgalagadi among the children of the BaKwena. And I studied with a patient heart, I did not wish to leave the school before my father had said that I should do so.

It happened in the year 1931 that the MaKgalagadi put evil thoughts into my head, so that I ran away from school and went to the initiation ceremonies; my father wished to bring me back, saying I should come to school, but the MaKgalagadi refused, and I went through the ceremonies, and when they were over I returned to school. And while I was still at school, it happened on the 17th of July, in the year 1932, that my older brother died. After his death I wanted to go home, but my father refused. Four (sic) months passed and then, on the 29th of January, 1933, my father also died, while I was still at school. In 1934 the BaKwena and the Government people took me out of school and brought me home, whence I passed on into the veld; it was said that I should go to collect the hut-tax paid by the MaKgalagadi. And when I returned I realised that the BaKwena had spoiled my education, for they had taken me from school when I was in the sixth standard, learning English; and I stayed with the MaKgalagadi, and my mind became truly darkened.

PRAISES OF ANIMALS IN NORTHERN SOTHO

By S. K. LEKGOTHOANE

These *dirétó* were written down by S. K. Lekgothoane, a member of the *baxaDikxale* tribe in Pietersburg district, Northern Transvaal. The translation and notes were made by myself in collaboration with him.

The author is a great reciter of *dirétó* and has composed many praise-poems on various people from time to time. The *dirétó* reproduced here are not, however, products of his fancy, but ancient praises handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.

It is interesting to observe how much intentional ambiguity (in references both to animals and to persons alluded to), how much sustained and consistent metaphor and how much ingenious conciseness can all be packed into the narrow limits of a few lines.

Needless to say, the meaning is often obscure to everyone except the initiated and the reciter himself, and even they are occasionally at a loss. A great deal of explanation is therefore required. What at first sight appears to be so much incoherent nonsense then becomes, upon closer examination, intricate and subtle humour and allusion. But these are things that must be explained to be appreciated. Furthermore we must remember that, in a short time hence, Natives will be reading these poems of their ancestors much as we read Chaucer, that is, with the aid of copious commentary or not at all.

Lekgothoane has prefaced his collection with a few remarks on the subject of *dirétó* and their reciters in general, and these remarks are equally worth recording.

N. J. VAN WARMELO.

Sekolong sa Makxowa bana ešita le barutiši ba bana ba rutwa mebila xo tlova xo 25 xo iša 50 le 100. Rena Basatho re rutwa makxolokxolo le dikete tša xo rêta, seló se seng le se seng seo re se bônang ka mathlô re kxóna xo se rêta ešita le tše re di tsebang ka kxopolô le xo di kwa ka ditsébê, re sa di bone, re kxóna xo di rêta.

Diló tšothle tše ke di ngwadileng mona ke thutó ya Sesotho, xa se thutó ya sekolo sa Makxowa.

Ke tla thóma ka tše nyenyane ka feleletša ka motho le Modimo. Dirétó di šupa se diraxetšeng le sa xóna byale le se tla tla. Di na le boporofeta byo boxolo, ke thapéló, ke taba tša sethšaba, kapa motho kapa seló, ke maikutlô a barapedi, baxale, maréna, bafó, le tše dingwe, ke peló ya thapéló. Xo xongwe mafšexa a a kwérwa ; ke khuduéxó ya maikutlô xore le xe motho a ne a šia a se sa šia. Xape ke thutó e tebileng. Re kxóna xo kwana le Modimo le badimo ka dirétó. Ke thabó ebile ke selló seo re llélang xo Modimo ka sóna. Dirétó di bonthša seo motho a se naxanang ka pelong, ke poléló ya motho. Ešita le Modimo ka noši o a ithêta, o a ithlalosa mokxwa, setšó, boxolo, maatla, sebopexó, bokaxothle, mosa, šébêšébê, nnete, bopheló le tše byale ka dirétó.

Motho wa tšóna, xe a rêtwa o ka sepela xodimo xa metlwa, le xo mo thlaba e se sa mo thlaba, a xwalale.

Bo-Lethamaxa lešothli mapharaphara a bo-Molau ; le bo-Masekwameng a Leso thlakhu ya xo rwala maséka ; le bo-Makxoba a Sefara, le bo-Maphóthó a Mmanupe, le bo-Ramanyóbu a Póó a Thšweng mothlaloxa, le bo-Lekxóthwane la Moxale Neša-pula, ba ke ba re xo rêta Modimo le badimo, pula e nê, molwetši a fólê.

In the European school the children and the teachers are made to learn by heart from 25 lines of poetry to 50 and 100. We baSotho on the other hand are taught hundreds and even thousands of lines of praise-poems, for everything that we see with our eyes we can praise, and besides, such things as we know from thinking about them or by hearing about them, without seeing them, all these we can praise.

Everything that I have written here is Sotho tradition, it is not what is taught in the school of the White Man.

Dirêto refer to past history, to present events and to the future. There is great prophecy in them, they are a prayer; tribal matters or those of men or things, feelings of worship, heroes, chiefs, commoners, and other things. They are the essence of prayer.

In others cowards are ridiculed; it is a stirring up of the emotions, so that if a man has been afraid he will not fear again. Furthermore, it is deep learning. We are enabled to establish harmony between ourselves and God and the departed spirits by means of praises. It is rejoicing and it is weeping with which we cry unto God. The praises reveal what a man thinks in his heart. It is his speech. And even God himself praises himself thereby, he explains his ways, origin, majesty, strength, form, omnipresence, goodness, peace, truth, life and similar things by means of praises.

A man whilst praising or being praised can walk over thorns, which cannot pierce his flesh which has become impenetrable.

Great medicine men such as: *Lethamaxa*¹ the Breaker-through (sc. in war, disease, misfortune) the Smasher and Bespatterer (sc. with medicines, missiles) of *Molau* (his brother); the *Masekwameng*,² son of *Leso*, with his calves adorned with anklets; *Makxoba*³ the son of *Sefara*; and *Maphôthô*,⁴ son of *Mmanape* (his mother); and *Ramanyôba*⁵ son of *P66*,

¹ The oft recurring prefix *bo-* is usually an honorific. Note that when a person is praised by the addition of a relative's name (in the possessive, with the short form *a*) *bo-* is used when it is the name of his brother or sister, e.g. *Lethamaxa a bo-Molau*, but not when it is the name of his father or mother, e.g. *Makxoba a Sefara*. *Lethamaxa Motimêlê* (a surname still well known amongst doctors) was a famous doctor at *Molêpô's*, who died about 1870.

² Refers esp. to *Phušudi*, who was a doctor at *Dikxale's*.

³ Chief of the *baNareng*, after whom Magoeba's Kloof is named.

⁴ A doctor at *Dikxale's*.

⁵ *Ramanyôba* was the founder of the *Moletše* tribe, also known as *baMmanamêla* of chief *Molôto* (*Molôto molôto! bangwe, babô a sa ba lotole*). Their totem is the crocodile (*mothlalexa*) which is why their ancestor *Thêweng* is personified as that animal.

TAU

Motau moxolo
Sepopoduma a malekwa
Mmótlana morapa pitšó
Phaxa mangana maxolo
Ke phaxa ya mangana a maxolo e jang bohwa le bya dingwe
Oa baba oa baba lešokxa tau ya dilépé
Le mampya le manonyana a thšaba xo mo thlakhuna
Tau ya mariri a maxolo
Sepótle ka kodu, maphóófólo a mo tseba
Thlóxó ke mathlathlakxome
Dinala ntswéréré
Letswaló la diphóófólo
Ledimo rópo rakweleta.

NKWÉ

Ke nkwe tolodi ya mabala
Nkwe tolodi ya dikxaxa
Ke nkwe a maxowa a maxolo
Nkwe tolodi a maxwa maxolo, se šie.
Phaswa ya banna ka naméla serithšana
Makópó ka apola
Motseparedi ka tseparéla
Batho ba ka baa šala
Ba re xa e tee, ke nkwe tše lesome.

the son of *Thšweng*, the crocodile, and *Lekxóthwane* of *Moxale*¹ the rain-maker, if any of these were to praise God and the ancestral spirits, the rain would fall and the sick be healed.

THE LION

Mr. Lion, the Tremendous
 Awful Roarer, the Attacked-by-all
 Poor body that summons together a gathering²
 Wild cat with the broad side whiskers
 It is a wild cat with fat cheeks that eats the heritage of other animals
 also³
 It is bitter, it is very bitter⁴ this little plant of the lion that calls forth
 axes⁵
 The dogs also and the vultures fear to attack him
 This lion with the huge manes
 This roarer with his deep throat, that all the animals know
 His head is a wild and shaggy mass of hair
 His nails are long and sharp
 The diaphragm (fear) of all animals
 Predatory devourer, father of cannibals.⁶

THE LEOPARD

It is the yellow leopard with the spots
 The yellow leopard of the cliffs
 It is the leopard of the broad cheeks
 Yellow leopard of the broad face, I-do-not-fear
 The black and white one, I-get-into-a-small-tree
 I tear off the eyebrows⁷
 Clawer I am, I dig in my claws
 My people (adversaries) I leave behind
 Saying : this was not one leopard, there were ten.

¹ *la Moxale* and not *a Moxale* to show that this clan is of alien, namely Zulu, origin (so they say), having come from a country in the east called *Peleng* (the Bilen plains in P.E.A), and having only adopted Sotho custom during a sojourn amongst the *Lobedu*, then under their chief *Moxale*, who was evidently a rain-maker as his successor *Modjadj* still is today.

² When the lion appears, people rush together for safety or for attack.

³ *bohwa* here means "the animals themselves, the children of animals."

⁴ Its courage is great.

⁵ When the lion comes, weapons are sought out.

⁶ i.e. biggest devourer and cannibal of them all.

⁷ Refers to the leopard's habit of sitting in a tree over a path and clawing the head of one who passes underneath, usually almost tearing the scalp off.

Dinalanyuneng ingapélé
Moxolo xa ile xo ngwapya a lla
Mankwé a Botlókwa
Wa nkwé Bolea.
Phaxa mangana maxolo
Phala re ja kxomo
O hwile Botlókwa
Botlókwa xa Mmathšaka Maimane
Botlókwa xa bo-mora-Mokotupi a Thšaka.
Botlókwa o ja kae?
E ile madi, e ile sebeté
Nkwé a Bolea.
Nkwé tolodi ya xa Malóba pholong
Tolodi e mabala-bala
Mmótlana, mothšathšo morapa-pitšó maxoxomoxomo.
Motho wa ka o tloxa a lekeleditše sekxata thloxong ka mathlong
Nkwé ya mabala-bala
Nkwé ya mabala a tibileng
Nkwé a mokxalabye
Le xo loma xa e sa loma e šetše e ba thula ka phatla fšla.

PHIRI

Phiri ke marakabele a dibata
E lathlang lerapó ke e nyane
Morwa Madumane a Phiri o duma-duma
Mphiri o boneng?
Ke duma mmótlana seroxole se nenyana
Ke oketšwa ke kxokxopa tlou
Phiri ya Mmankala a Bokone
Thamaxana e melapó
Ya re : ngou, e ja motho
Maphara-phara a masepa phiri

Mr. Claws, scratch for yourself
 Even for a big man it's no disgrace to yell if scratched
 Leopards¹ of the Tlókwa country
 Of Bolea, where the Tlókwa came from
 Wild cat with the broad face
 Both *impala* buck we eat and cattle.
 You died in Botlókwa
 In the Tlókwa-land of Mmathšaka Maimane
 Tlókwa-land of the sons of Mokutupi of Thšaka
 Where do you go in Tlókwa-land (to seize cattle) ?
 It is full of blood, it has got the liver²
 Leopard of Bolea.
 Yellow leopard of the clan Malóba the great³
 Yellow spotted one
 Poor nobody, active smart fellow that summons together a huge
 gathering
 My victim goes away with his scalp hanging down over his eyes
 Leopard of the many spots
 Leopard of the very dark spots
 Leopard, grand old man (i.e. formidable one)
 Even when it can no longer bite, it still butts its adversaries out of the
 the way with its forehead.

THE HYENA

The hyena is the greedy one amongst the wild beasts
 The one that drops a bone is a small one⁴
 Growler, son of the Hyena, he keeps on growling
 Master Hyena, what have you seen ?
 I growl being a poor body, I am small⁵
 I have got the same hump as the elephant
 Hyena of the Mmankala⁶ of Kone-land
 Spotted animal that dwells along rivers
 When it says : ngou ! it devours even man
 Hyena, scatterer of excrement⁷

¹ i.e. chiefs of the Batlókwa, because the leopard is their totem.

² Refers to the leopard's way of devouring only the blood and liver of its victim.

³ BaxaMalóba are a *kxóro* of the BaTlókwa. *Pholong* is an addition to their clan name by way of praise.

⁴ A big hyena will not drop its bone.

⁵ I can do nothing more than just growl.

⁶ The royal family of Dikxale's tribe, with the totem *phuri*.

⁷ Because it is an arrant coward.

*A tau a mpakéla kudumela
Ntwela xo šika le leššéxa ke xo lathléxa
Phiri setšea-le-tsela sekhukhuni
Xoba e tšo utswa ea bonala.*

THŠWENG

*Mmantaxane a lewa
Sethlako ka kxanya thabeng
Thšweng ya pholo
E hwile mothlatsweng
Moxoloxolo o hwetše se bodile
Morwa marotó moinoló
Morwa mothušó wa baana
Thšweng senaiwa mmele
Thšweng se naiwe ka mo mathlong le mpeng
Morwa atla dинhsonyana
Na o rweleng ka moo maraxong?
Mmantaxane a lewa sekhanya thabeng
Ke bo-ka-kxopya ke be ke nametše xara mothlatswa
Tau tša tšwéléla thabeng
Tša tla tša nthipa molala
Nna mmantaxane a lewa
Ka wéla ka fase xa mothlatswa.*

TLOU

*Pholli a dithlare
Kxomo ya mma-bašimane
Matubakó a modiša
Kxomo ya kxamélwa metlweng
Tlou setumula mexaba
Tawana tša ja kxabane*

That of the lion makes me sweat¹
 That thing there,² to go about with such a coward is to be lost
 Hyena that walks along all humped up
 Because it is plain it has come from stealing something.

THE BABOON

Mr. Handsome-fellow of the precipice
 My foot soles shine on the mountain
 Ox of a baboon, (i.e. huge creature)
 It dies in the stamvrug tree³
 Its favourite food, but it dies for something that is rotten
 Son of liquid urine⁴
 Son of the great medicine for children
 Baboon that gets wet when it rains
 Baboon that never gets rain on its eyes or stomach⁵
 Son of the black hands
 What is it you have in your genitals⁶
 Mr. Handsome-fellow, shiner on the mountain
 The gentry of "Let me tumble, so long as I am in the stamvrug tree
 And the lions come down from the mountain
 And come and strangle me
 Me, Handsome-fellow of the krans
 So that I fall under the stamvrug tree."

THE ELEPHANT

Stripper of trees
 Cow, mother of herdboys⁷
 Lumberer of the herdsman
 Cow which is milked in the thorn-scrub
 Elephant, Uprooter of thorn-trees⁸
 The lion cubs eat the small *moxaba* bulbs⁹

¹ When it comes upon the lion's droppings the smell makes it perspire with fear.

² *Ntwela* = *selô sela*.

³ A tree (*Chrysophyllum magalimontanum*), the nice fruit of which is the baboon's great favourite.

⁴ The urine of baboons, when found still liquid where it has run on the rocks, is collected and used as a very highly prized medicine.

⁵ The baboon is said to huddle up in such a way that rain never wets its belly.

⁶ The penis of a baboon is considered very powerful and valuable medicine indeed.

⁷ The elephant is at home in the veld where the herdsmen graze their cattle, living at the cattleposts.

⁸ *moxaba* is a tree the roots of which are eaten in times of scarcity.

⁹ i.e. a fig. way of saying that the elephant is more powerful than the lion, which has to be content with the smaller portion. Actually of course no lion would dream of touching a *mxaba*.

Tlou thsêthsénéné
Kxolo ya xabo modišenyane
Nkiti xóna mošitó ke se naó
Mathlotla ka pedi
Maphate sethlare kea dira
Bo-hulahuletša noka ka patika
Nna sekóbó nthso a dithlare.

KWENA

Kwena ke moróka meetse a pula
Nthso ya bodiba
E nthso-nthso e alang bolélé
Ke kwena ya moxobe
Selomi kea oka-oka
Ngwan'a radibe hula-huletša
Hula-huletša xo benye-noka
Xo benye-noka bo-kubu le bo-kwena
Di tla thšoloxa diphóróró
Ke kwena e nthso ya bodiba
Kwena e tsene le kxomo bodibeng
E tsene le kxomo bodibeng bothso
Kwena e tsene le kxomo sefarong
E tsene ka kxomo bodibeng bothso
Beng-kxomo ba rile ka okaméla
Ba phutla madubu le ka mexokare
Ba ithloma ba bónéxéla bodiba
Ke diba bo tseneng kxomo

Elephant, huge monster of a beast
 Big one of the herdboys' country
 The thud of walking however I have not¹
 Walker with two sticks²
 I make a split fork of a tree³
 Those to whom tribute is paid at the river I stick in a cleft⁴
 I, the ugly black one of the forests.

THE CROCODILE

The crocodile is the invoker of the waters of rain
 The black one of the pool
 The black black one lying on the water slime
 It is the crocodile of the pool
 The biter I go about seeking for prey
 Son of the father of pools to whom tribute is paid⁵
 Tribute to the lords of the rivers
 To the lords of the rivers, the hippo and the crocodile
 The great torrents of rain will come thundering down
 It is the black crocodile of the pool
 The crocodile that drags down a beast into the depths
 It drags the beast into the dark depths
 The crocodile has jammed the beast down in a fork
 It has taken the beast into the dark depths
 The owners of the beast peer over and down into them
 They open out the rushes and willows
 They think they are looking right into the pool
 It is the pool into which the beast has disappeared

¹ The elephant is a very silent walker.

² viz. its trunk and its tusks, both of which it uses.

³ It uproots trees and splits them from end to end.

⁴ *Bo-hulahuletša* refers to the custom of throwing (-hula) some small thing like a bangle or bead into a river before attempting a crossing, by way of tribute to crocodiles, hippo, iguana and what they call *nôxa ya meetse*. When the crocodile, lying in wait at the water's edge, seizes the elephant's trunk, it is jerked out of its element and clamped high up in a split tree. On this interesting point cf. Wangemann's remarks, which were based on what he had been told, probably in Sekukuniland. He says ("Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika" Berlin 1886. p. 246) "Nur der Elefant *raakt* ihm *baas* (wird seiner Meister), der packt es mit seinem Rüssel um den Leib und schleudert es aus dem Wasser, trägt es dann bis zu einem Baum mit zweispaltigem Stamm, klemmt es hinein und lässt ihm Zeit, über sein Schicksal nachzudenken. Bisweilen findet man solche Krokodilsgерippe in den Bäumen."

⁵ This refers to the custom of throwing some small thing, like a bangle, into a river before attempting a dangerous crossing, as tribute to the crocodile, hippo, iguana and *nôxa ya meetse*.

Ke kwenā e nthso ya ba-Modiane a Tau
Ba xa Moxópa a diru
E re kwenā e šale le kxomo moferong
E šale le kxomo bodibeng bothso
Ke mošita-metsi a Mmamolemana
Kwenā moila lethlaka, xóna e tswaletšwe lethlakeng
Monna ya sepoxo mabolaya a thšéxa
Kwenā ke ménó xo jana masexi, mathlonama xa je motho.

THAKADU

Thakadu xola o bolawé
O tla šala o apere dixwere
Lebo-mamphaa a ditsepu
Serata motho oa ja
O itetše mabu a lefase
Phóǃfóǃ e topileng makéké Lexoleng
Lexoleng la mmamoaxwa ka dithlaka
Mmamoaxwa ka dithlaka tša mabélé
Seépéla-ntlo kolobé
Ke phóǃfóǃ e sentšeng mo fase
Xóna mafase a šitile marula-thšipi a Bokone.
Ke phóǃfóǃ e phulang mesima xara ditsela
E le mphaxeng a Ramaité

It is the black crocodile of *Modiane* of *Tau*¹
 Of those of *Moxôpa-a-dira*, the Robber of his enemies
 The crocodile stays down in the weeds with the beast
 It is still down in the dark pool with it
 It is the one that cannot be drowned of *Mmamolemana*²
 Crocodile that must not be poked at with a reed,³ though born in the
 reeds
 Cruel one, killer whilst laughing
 The Crocodile is the laughing teeth that kill, for anger slays no man.⁴

THE ANTBEAR

Antbear grow that you may be given presents⁵
 You will become strong⁶ by wearing many roots (medicines)
 You will be one who grows wealthy⁷ by leaps and bounds
 You are fond of people whilst taking their things⁸
 You have taken for yourself the whole earth
 Animal that has picked up ants (i.e. cattle) in *Lexola*⁹
Lexola of the builder with reeds
 The builder with stalks of maize
 You who dig holes for the benefit of wild pigs¹⁰
 It is an animal that has done damage underground
 Yet this is the soil that was too hard for the smiths of Kone-land¹¹
 It is an animal that digs holes even in the paths
 not clear¹²

¹ *Serêto* of the chief Mamoxale of the Kwena ba Moxôpa tribe to which further reference is made in this piece.

² *Mmamolemana* an old name or *serêto* of the Kwena of Moletše.

³ This is believed to make it just as violently angry as throwing dust does, according to belief, a puffadder.

⁴ Lit.: the crocodile is an eating up of one another of people who laugh. This latter part is a phrase or proverb, which means that an enemy who can dissemble by smiling is the one to be reckoned with, for an appearance of anger will be warning enough to put the other on his guard.

⁵ The antbear is the personification of the medicine-man and herbalist. This whole *serêto* is virtually the praise-poem of the *ngaka*, not of the animal. In this line the doctor is exhorted to grow in wisdom and fame so that he may receive many fees.

⁶ Strong, that is, in the magic sense.

⁷ *Bo-mmaphaa* the givers, the wealthy.

⁸ The doctor helps people in trouble but takes their wealth in the form of fees.

⁹ The bare region around Pietersburg, where building material is scarce.

¹⁰ Treatment by one doctor opens the door for other doctors who also make a profit out of the patient.

¹¹ The smiths were always thought to follow a lucrative profession, but that of the medicine-man is more lucrative still.

¹² This line cannot be explained. The *baxaRamaitê* are a branch of the *baBirwa*.

*Thakadu Mmamaréxana a Senyatsi
Seépéla-ntlo kolobé.*

Thakadu selema-tseleng

O tla ruta basadi xo lema.

Thakadu ya pholo seépéla-ntlo kolobé

Dibata tšothle tša tla ka xo lala.

KOLOBÉ

Kolobé dipodi di a lwala

Morudu mphela ra-sexwété

Engwé ke xwété la mma-mathetša kólé

Engwe ke mašuputšane o e bôné

E se xo thšélé maphusese

Mathlodi a se iša šameng

Engwé ke lebóla la bo-Thathane a Masebe

Kolobé ya kopu

Khupa Mašilo a bononyana

Tsoku la ka ka ja

Ka tlóla mmele, kolobé nkxangkxang

Kolobé ya pholo masibéla

E reng tsoku la ka ke tlóla monya

Ke tlóla mafura ke jele

Byatladi bya Malatši a mma-ka-xapa khulwana

Kolobé ke ledimo ea ja.

Antbear Mr. Mmamarêxana of Senyatsi¹
 Digger of holes for the benefit of wild pigs
 Antbear that hoes in the paths
 You will teach the women to do hoeing²
 Great antbear, digger of holes for wild pigs
 All the wild animals come to you to rest.³

THE WILD PIG

Wild pig, the goats are ill⁴
Morudu,⁵ subsister on *sexwêlé* tubers
 Some of these (medicines) can make the chief fall
 Another pig is a wallower, be careful of it
 Lest it throw you full of earth whilst digging⁶
 The looker-around what to take and put into its cheek
 Another again is the sting of the Thathanes of Masebe⁷
 The wild pig of the wild pumpkin
 Mašilo the holder of lightning in his mouth⁸
 My ochre for anointing I eat⁹
 I anoint my body with it, I wild boar of the champing
 Great pig, the stopper up of gaps¹⁰
 Which says : my ochre I use to smear my body with fat
 I anoint myself with the fat I have eaten
 In Byatladi of Malatši, raiders of red cattle
 The Pig is a cannibal, it eats (its own young).

¹ The baxaMmamarêxana are a clan living at Moletše, and whose totem is the antbear. At the same time there is a play on words. Senyatsi was the founder of this clan. One who has annointed himself with antbear fat *nyatsa's* (i.e. despises, does not mind the cold of) winter (*marexa*, which word appears in the clan name).

² The medicine-man's craft is taught even to women.

³ These last two lines were used, acc. to Lekgothoane, as part of prayer to Modimo to indicate that all beings sought refuge with him.

⁴ The pig is always symbolical of the *ngaka* doctor, who is also always digging for roots.

⁵ A *serêlé* of the pig, meaning unknown.

⁶ The medicine-man must always beware of the charms and medicines of his colleagues.

⁷ Masebe is the Ndebele chief in Potgietersrust district.

⁸ Refers to the doctor's powers of control over lightning, which is a bird, according to Native tradition.

⁹ The pig besmears itself with its food.

¹⁰ This is supposed to mean that the doctor backs both sides, is always in demand whether in good times or bad, must always be called in on certain matters, and always makes his profit.

NOKO

Noko e le leng mabélê mašemong
Ea aketša balata
Dinoko re ra bašita phiri, ba mma-Mokone
Noko e le leng mabélê mašemong
Le moše xa noka ea ya
Le a lemileng Lexoleng
Lexoleng la mma-moaxwa ka dithlaka
Noko ea ya
Xa e na ea lemileng kxole
Monna noko a ramasibéla a tsébê
Moxale o thlanthlankxeditše
Mmina-noko mo-Tubatse
O rwele kxótlópó ya marumó, o ya hula kae?
Moreko putla a bo-noko
Noko e le leng mabélê mašemong
Ea aketša balata
Ka mejó mexolo ya yóna.

PHUTHI

Phuthi phuthéxana phuthi
Phuthi ka santhaxó
Phuthi a Malope phuthéxana
Phuthaxana phuthi nkxoraxora
Mma-ditsaró bo-mmutla ka tsoša
Phuthi kobyana pele.

THE PORCUPINE

The porcupine that has stolen maize from the gardens
 It accuses the common people¹
 By porcupines we mean the vanquishers of the hyenas, the Kone
 Porcupine that has stolen maize from the gardens
 Even across the river² does it go to do harm
 And even from those who have gardens in Lexola³
 In Lexola where huts are built with reeds⁴
 Even so far does it go
 There is none that cultivates too far away for it to come and do damage
 For Mr. Porcupine who plugs with a reed the hole in his ear⁵
 The great warrior bristling with spears (quills)
 The porcupine-worshipper on the Tubatse⁶
 You bear a quiver full of spears, where go you to hurl them ?
 Great man⁷ of the porcupine tribe, who goes by (to do damage)
 Porcupine that has eaten the maize in the gardens
 It falsely accuses the common people with its great greediness.

THE DUIKER

Duiker which collects itself for the jump⁸
 Duiker which goes backwards⁹
 Duiker of the die *Malope*,¹⁰ duiker which gathers itself together
 Self-gatherer, Duiker, the runner
 Bounder that scares up the hares
 Duiker of the front loin-dress of men.¹¹

¹ *Noko* being the totem of the royal house of Sekukuniland, this *serêlô* refers as much to the animal as to the chiefs of the Pedi, who enrich themselves and blame their followers. They are also said to be more powerful than the Kone, their rivals.

² Probably the Olifant is meant.

³ *Lexola* the bare highveld country around Pietersburg.

⁴ Through lack of wood as building material.

⁵ Refers to the custom of piercing the ears.

⁶ The Steelpoort river, which flows through Pedi-land.

⁷ The exact meaning of *moreko* is not known. It is taken from a proverb or proverbial epithet applied to Modimo, and which runs: *Moreko moxolo oa ithekola, mola mereko kamoka e sa ithekole*. The Venda say: *Mudengu ha di-denguli* "A doctor doesn't doctor himself," which is clearly the same thing. It is possible that the verb does mean just what one would suppose at first sight, viz. "redeem," but this is not certain and it may well mean something quite different.

⁸ Before going off and before jumping the duiker seems to shrink together to gather itself together.

⁹ i.e. before going forwards.

¹⁰ Name of the metacarpal of the duiker when used in a set of divining bones.

¹¹ The duiker skin is highly prized for this purpose.

PUDI

Ke pudi ya melelô e mebe
Xa bo-leššêxa xa xo llewe
Le xe o ka e kxoka ka lerapô
E re mée mée
Ntate-a-makoti
A re tšwélê kantle
Tšwêla o lebêlle pudi
Mma, e hweditšwe kantle xa lexora
E tswetše ka putšane ya moroba
Fale e tswetše e tona
Ke thwa thwa ditšié
Mma ya nokeng, ke tla šila
Motho wa lekoko
Xa rwale letšêxa.

PITSI

Ke mokwelekweta Mothšadibê
Phôôfôlô ya masebôkô sa nawa
Nawa nka be di bipêla
Nka be di bipetše Bathšadibê
Phôôfôlô ya mebala leboya
Pitsi thamaxan'a naxa
Letuba lenala
La Mmamoeaka a Tšôma
Ntlang le bone phôôfôlô kôma

THE GOAT

It is the goat with the ugly bleatings
 In the coward's village there is no weeping¹
 Even it you tie it with a thong
 It still cries *mêê mêê*
 "My word father!
 Let us go outside."²
 "Go outside and see what is the matter with the goat."
 "Mother, it was found outside the fence,
 It has born a big kid
 It has given birth to a very big young one yonder."
 It is a dainty walker, like a locust
 "Mother, you go to the river, I shall do the grinding"³
 It is one that wears a high coiffure
 It cannot carry a waterpot.

THE ZEBRA

The fat one of the Mothšadibe clan⁴
 The animal which has the same *sebókó* as "beans"
 Were it that beans caused constipation
 They would have done so to the baThšadibe⁵
 Striped animal of the North⁶
 Black and white zebra of the plains
 Member of the age-grades of Letuba and Lenala⁷
 Of Mmamoeke son of Tšóma⁸
 Come and behold this most beautiful animal

¹ This *serêto* of the goat is at the same time a bit of sarcasm at the expense of cowards. This line is a proverb, meaning that since the coward does not risk his life, he does not lose it, and therefore the mourning wail is not heard in his village.

² It sounds as if something were amiss outside. Actually it is merely the goat crying. It is a coward, who begins to shout for help when a stick is merely raised to threaten him.

³ The coward, like a lazy girl, suggests that others should do the more strenuous work.

⁴ A clan which has the Zebra as its totem. Its members are found scattered about, but especially at Molêpô's, their old home, at Mothiba's, Moletše, amongst the Xananwa, and elsewhere in that quarter.

⁵ These two lines cannot be explained any further.

⁶ Where it occurs most.

⁷ The names of *mephatô* (circumcision grades), the *Matuba* being senior to the *Manala*. However, this may be wrong. It is interesting to note that the zebra is called *iDuše* in Zulu and Swazi.

⁸ Mmamoeke is said to be the first ancestor of the Mothšadibe clan.

Kóma e difótló
Šapéló le makxólló
Thšumu ya bo-Mmathswane a Matubeng
Phóófólló e thomo sethakxa, kxatswitswi ya Mangana
Lenyama la nkat'a Thsumele.

NÓXA

Ke mpókópókó a Mma-mphókwana
Xa ke bonwe ke banana (or bašimane)
Ke bónwa ke dithsa dikxolo tša metse
Nna manywedi-nyweke a se iphithla
Moilwa-motho.

MAŠIANOKE

Mašianoke a selwana
Se axa ntlo bodibeng
Mašianoke a selwana
Se axa ntlo ka bodutu.
Mathaka a tséna a tséna
Mathaka a tséna bo-mmaletswetswe la kabele
Thlanthlaxane tša xodimo.

Nonyana maila xo šupya
Thšupa thšupa baloi
Ka xo šupa o ka hwa.

This handsome striped thing¹
 Wash-basin marked with lines
 Spotted-forehead of Mmathswane² of the Matuba³
 Black and white one, beautiful, Whinnier of the *Mangana*⁴
 Horse that pounds the soil of Thsumele's⁵

THE SNAKE

I am the long monster of Mother Kid⁶
 I am not to be seen by mere boys⁷
 I may only be seen by the deep pools of the villages⁸
 I, the zigzagger which hides itself
 I who am an abomination to man.⁹

THE UMBER, HAMMERHEAD

The umber, the royal bird¹⁰
 It builds its nest on the pool
 UMBER, royal bird
 It builds its nest aloof
 Yet those of its kind may enter
 There enter its relations the *Mma-letsweetswe* with which it can share¹¹
 And the *thlanthlaxane* of on high.
 The bird which is tabu to be pointed at¹²
 Which itself points out the wizards
 If you point at it you die.

¹ *Sefôtô* is a type of bangle or anklet giving the appearance of stripes.

² Mmathswane is the name of a *kxôrô* of the baThšadibe.

³ See *Matuba* under note 7 above.

⁴ *Mangana* is the name of the *mophatô* enrolled at the time when horses were first obtained by Natives in these parts.

⁵ *Thsumele*, also known as *xa Mabitsêla*, is a place in Moletšé's area and east of the Sand River, where the people were more successful with their newly acquired horses than folks elsewhere.

⁶ Refers to the species of snake which is said to bleat like a kid or goat.

⁷ Those ordinary mortals, other than medicine-men, who see the snake are said to die in consequence.

⁸ i.e. the elders and medicine-men of the villages, those who have wide and deep knowledge and experience.

⁹ Because when these two meet they fight.

¹⁰ *Selwana* being a salutation for royalty, it here indicates that the umber is a bird of importance.

¹¹ *Kabele* from *-abêla*, indicating that it can share food, etc., with, and therefore is related. If not related, one cannot *-abêla*.

¹² The same belief that it is tabu to point at the umber's nest is found amongst the Venda.

Thlaxa sa mašianoke

Xodimo xa ke okamelwe ke bašimanyana

Ke okamelwa ke mangaka malalome.

Ke okamelwa ke dithsa dikxolo tša metse

Thlaxa sa mmamašilo a noka.

Ke mpókópókó wa mmamphókwana

Xodimo xa ke okangwe ke bašimanyana

Ke okamelwa ke bo-sekibakiba-mathaleng.

Ke okangwa ke bo-mmampipi batho ba koša ya bošexo.

Ke nna serufyé, ke manthoxwane

Nonyana maila xo šupya

Mašianoke ke xo šupile

Bo-mmaxó ba tla phalolwa

Nna nonyana yu badimo le maxeruxeru

Mmamašilo a noka nonyana seokaméla-bodiba.

MPHŠE

Mphše setima-mollo seula-ula matlakala

Ea kuba-kuba mphše

Mphše e bóna e mo maeng

Nonyana ya sekxa-meetse ka diphéxó.

MAKXOTHLO LERIBIŠI

Makxothlo mma-nyéla phaxong

Mothla wa pula o nyéla kae ?

The nest of the umber

From above it may not be looked at by boys¹

I am peered at only by big doctors, by terrible ones

I may be seen by the big pools of the villages²

Nest of great Mother UMBER³

I am the dangerous thing that bleats like a kid⁴

I may not be looked at from above by boys

I am looked at by the Thudders-on-ash-heaps.⁵

I am looked at by wizards, the people of the singing in the night.⁶

I am *Serufyê* (umber),⁶ the crested one⁷

The bird not to be pointed at

" UMBER, I have pointed at you "

" Your mothers will be shaven " ⁸

I, bird of the dead and the guardian spirits

UMBER of the river, bird that sits over the deep waters.

THE OSTRICH

Ostrich fire-extinguisher by whisking about leaves

The ostrich walks ostentatiously, swingingly

It sees whilst brooding on its eggs

The bird that draws water with its wings.⁹

THE OWL

Owl, crevice-sitter

When it rains, where do you sit ?

¹ i.e., by ordinary people.

² i.e., the great ones, those with experience and knowledge.

³ *Mma-mašilo-a-noka* is possibly an earlier form from which *mašianoka* is abbreviated, or it may have been formed to resemble the latter. The meaning is not clear.

⁴ This line seems out of place here, and also occurs, more correctly, in the *serêto* of the snake.

⁵ This refers to wizards (*baloi*) who are believed to smear themselves with ash and to dance naked on ash-heaps of nights.

⁶ This is an archaic word no longer used today, but identical with the Venda name for the same bird, viz. *tshiruxwe*.

⁷ From *thoxo* a small plant which resembles a crest.

⁸ i.e., their heads will be shaved in mourning after your demise.

⁹ It is said that when the ostrich sees a veld fire threatening its nest, it runs to water and fills its wings with water which it then quickly takes back and sprinkles on the grass all around the nest.

MMAMEDI, KURU-EE-NTHSARE

Kuru we nthsare
Nthsare a bo-dikilana
Se apara matankana
Diboko kitšwe nthsare
Nthsare a bo-dikilana
Mpotšé xe o sa di rate
Ke iphlélé mantlékwa
Mantlékwa mokxórwane
Nonyana e pelo e thata
Nonyana e thomo letšoka
O dikile o ile kae?
Bangwé ba lema dirókóló
We-we-we nthsare.

SEXOKO A MMANTHŠIKIRIRI

Sexoko sa Borwa, Mmantitolé, Mmanthšéthšéne,
Xa se ke se loma motho a pholoxa.
Se fêla se loma molala-thlaxeng.
Sexoko sa Borwa, Mma-nthso a dilokong,
Se fêla se loma mma-mošólélwa.

SEPAAPAA

Sepaapaa sa bo-Matontwane
Kxara-motala ke apere
Boséthla ke upere
Nna ra-batalala a thabeng.

*NTHSARE*¹

Come please² *nthsare*
Nthsare of the gizzard³ tribe
 Dressed up in tatters
 Here are worms, *nthsare*
Nthsare of the gizzard tribe
 Tell me if you don't want them
 So that I can give them to the *mantlékwa*⁴
 To *mantlékwa* also called *mokxórwane*
 The bird that knows no fear
 The *letšoka*⁵ with white on its wings
 Where were you this ploughing season ?
 Others are hoeing their gardens
 You, you, you there, *nthsare*.

THE SPIDER, THE FIERCE HAIRY ONE

Spider of the South,⁶ Hairy one, Mother of fierceness
 It is not something that bites a man who is left unscathed
 It only bites the exceptional man, who sleeps in the veld⁷
 Spider of the South, Mother of blackness of the black loam⁸
 It only bites the victim of evil omen.⁹

THE BLUE-THROATED LIZARD

Blue-throated lizard of the Lizards
 A blue chest (or throat) I have put on
 Brown I also have put on
 I, father-of-clinging of the hillside.

¹ A species of bird. The song is sung by boys wishing to trap it.

² *Kuru* is used to entice the bird to come and nibble at the bait of their trap. Cf. *-kuruetsa* lull a baby to sleep.

³ i.e., a bird.

⁴ *Mantlékwa* a sp. of bird.

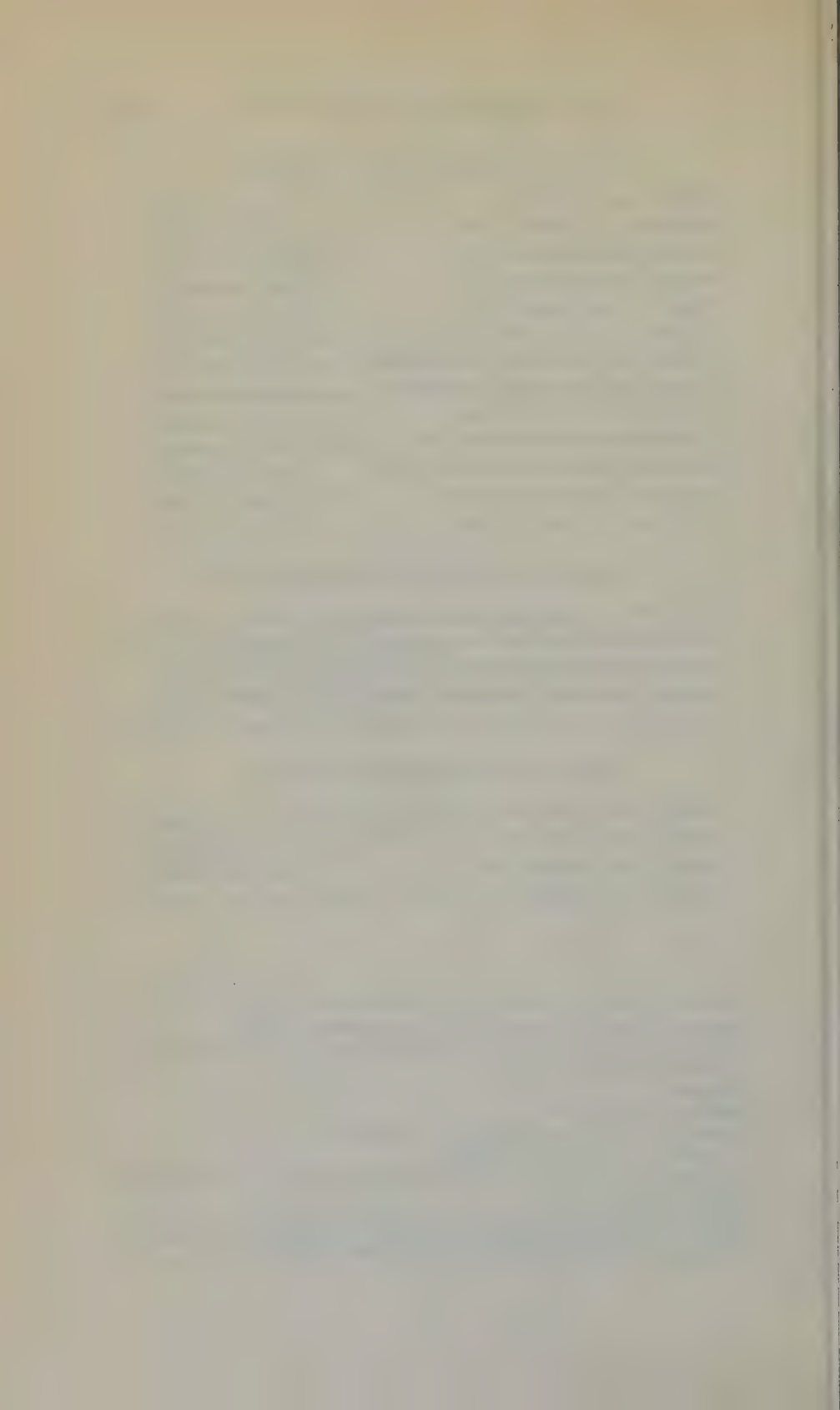
⁵ *Letšoka* a sp. of bird, another name for *mantlékwa*.

⁶ This spider is commonest in the South.

⁷ i.e., whoever is bitten by the spider will go mad and sleep in the veld and do other crazy things.

⁸ *Selókó* is esp. the so-called "turf," a heavy black clayey soil.

⁹ See no. 7. Being bitten by the spider is the omen of one's going mad, or becoming in some other way afflicted as result of the bite.



A PRELIMINARY CHECK LIST OF ZULU NAMES OF PLANTS

With Short Notes

By REV. JACOB GERSTNER, Ph.D.

PREFACE

Last year, I acceded to the request of Professor C. M. Doke of the Witwatersrand University to collect and verify for his new Zulu Standard Dictionary as many Zulu names of plants as possible. To collect and verify them all would be the work of a lifetime. So this Preliminary Check List with its Addenda will provide the necessary sources for the people compiling the new Zulu Standard Dictionary and, what is very important indeed, show the people interested in this kind of investigation what a great deal of research work is still to be done.

As regards the method I employ, my aim is always to get from a number of Natives of different places the same name for the same plant. The number of records which I get I put in brackets just behind each Zulu name. If there is only one record taken from one author (cf Bibliography) the name of this author is added.

Mentioning the different local records I use in future (what I suggest to other botanists as well) always the district abbreviations of the Motor Car number plates, because names of places like Umsunduzi, Entabeni, Entumeni, Hlophenkulu, etc., you may find more than once. When I find a name in more than five different places, I add after the Zulu name "general," or "general in Zululand" or "general in Natal." The abbreviation N & T means the word is or may be used on the Northern Border and is probably of Tonga origin. W & S denotes a word of the Western Zulu in the Eastern Transvaal and the Swazi. S & X signifies a word occurring on the Southern Border and if not a Hlubi, Baca or Pondo word, probably of Xhosa origin. The note given in inverted commas is intended to give an English translation of the Zulu word. "Etc." after a scientific name means that there is a number of very nearly related species grouped round the one mentioned which are not distinguished by the Zulus.

Remember that the prefix *isi-* is often used to express that there is a clump or a grove of trees, e.g. *isiNga* instead of *umuNga*. This pure grammatical form has here been usually neglected.

The author gratefully acknowledges the financial help given to him during the last two years by the Research Grant Board, Johannesburg, and the Inter University Committee for African Studies.

He also wishes to thank Prof. A. O. D. Mogg, M.Sc., of Pretoria, Miss Dr. D. Weintroub of Johannesburg, the Conservator of Forests, Natal, Mr. J. J. Boocock, and Rev. F. Willibrord Binder, C.M.M., of Centocow Mission for allowing him to use their lists of Native names of plants.

Many thanks also to the Staff of the Natal Herbarium in Durban, the National Herbarium in Pretoria and the Bolus Herbarium in Kirstenbosch for the identification of more than 3000 specimens sent in.

Of great assistance to me in my linguistic difficulties were Rev. Andrew Ngidi, D.D., of Eshowe and Maria ka Shingane ka Mpande, a Zulu Princess of Mahlabatini and expert of the classical Zulu of the Royal Family.

Kensington,
Johannesburg,
25th July, 1938

F. J. GERSTNER, O.S.B.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bryant, Rev. Alfred T., a *Zulu-English Dictionary*, Mariannhill 1905.
- Bryant, Rev. Alfred T., "Zulu Medicine and Medicine-men," *Annals of Natal Museum*, 1909, 11, 1-103.
- Chapman, James, 1868, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*.
- Colenso, Bishop of Natal, *Zulu Dictionary*.
- Flora Capensis*, Vo. I to VII, London, Harvey W. H., Sonder O. W., Thiselton-Dyer W. and Prain D.
- Flora of Natal and Zululand*, An Introduction to the, by J. W. Bews, M.A., D.Sc., Pietermaritzburg, 1921.
- Flora of Transvaal and Swaziland*, by Burrt Davy, 1934—.
- Marloth, R., *Dictionary of the common names of plants*, 1917.
- Samuelson, *King Cetshwayo's Zulu Dictionary*.
- Schwaiger, Rev. Albert C.M.M., *Medicinal Plants of the Xosas* (MS).
- Sim, T. R., *The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of Good Hope*, Aberdeen, 1907.
- Sim, T. R., *Forest Flora and Forest Resources of Portuguese East Africa*, Aberdeen, 1909.

- Sim, T. R., *Native Timbers of South Africa*, Memoir 2 of Department of Mines and Industries.
- Smith, Andrew, *A contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 1895.
- Stevenson-Hamilton, J., *The Low Veld*, 1929.
- Steyn, *Toxology of S.A.*
- Watt, J. M., Professor John Mitchell and M. G. Breyer-Brandwyk, *The Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of Southern Africa*, 1932.
- Wood, J. M., *Natal Plants*, Vol. I-VI, with 600 plates, Durban 1898-1914.

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF THE DISTRICTS OF
NATAL AND ZULULAND AS USED IN THE MOTOR
CAR NUMBER PLATES**

NA—Alfred District.	NKA—N'Kandhla.
NB—Bergville.	NKK—Kranskop.
NBA—Babanango.	NKR—Klipriver.
NL—Ladysmith.	NN—Newcastle.
NM—Mapumulo.	NNC—Newcastle (Dst.).
NMA—Mahlabatini.	NND—Ndwandwe (Nongoma).
NC—Camperdown.	NO—Emtonjaneni.
NCC—Colenso.	NP—Pietermaritzburg.
ND—Durban.	NPN—Pinetown.
NDA—Dundee (Dst.).	NPP—Paulpietersburg.
NDE—Dundee (Boro').	NQ—Nqutu.
NE—Estcourt.	NR—Lion's River.
NEC—Estcourt (Boro').	NS—Ngotshe.
NES—Eshowe.	NT—Lower Tugela.
NF—Impofana.	NU—Durban (Dst.).
NG—P'Maritzburg (Dst.).	NUB—Ubombo.
NGT—Greytown.	NUC—Utrecht.
NH—New Hanover.	NUF—Umfolosi.
NHK—Helpmakaar.	NUK—L. Umzimkulu.
NHL—Hlabisa.	NUM—Umvoti.
NHR—Mooi River.	NUT—Utrecht.
NI—Ixopo.	NV—Vryheid (Boro').
NIM—Impenhle.	NW—Weenen.
NIN—Ingawavuma.	NX—Alexandra.
NIP—Ipolela.	NY—Vryheid (Dst.).
NJ—Inanda.	NZ—Mtunzini.
NK—Richmond.	

1. *isAdlulambazo*, "the tree defying the axe," (1, NZ) a giant form of *Olea verrucosa* Link., 3 x 100 ft., growing on the sandy banks near Inyoni river mouth.
2. *isAfico*, a rarer form of *isiFico*.
3. *isAgogwane* (1 NUF), *Randia rudis* E.M., usually called *umKwakwane omncane*.
4. *isAgude* (4 NZ, NUF), *Strelitzia augusta* Thb., usually called *isiGceba*. They use the leaves to make strings for building Native huts.
5. *isAgwali* (1, NND), a veld plant yielding tubers like *umhlaza*.
6. *umAhlokoloji* (1, NM), a tree if cut sprouts quickly out again.
7. *isAkhwali*, the same as *isiKwali*.
8. *umAlusi* (1), but according to Bryant *uMalusi*.
9. *isAmbilane* (1) *Portulacaria afra* Jacq., the elephant's food.
10. *isAmulekisane* (3), according to Mogg 6233 the same as *isiMuyisane*.
11. *isAmunyane*, "the bitter leaf," (1 NP), *Pavetta geniculata*, a sour leaf eaten by travellers and herdboys as a refreshing tonic; further (1, S&X) *Embelia ruminata* Mez., with a leaf used in the same way, but called in Zululand *iBinini*.
12. *isAmuyisane* (1), according to Bews *Paspalum scrobiculatum* L., a common grass weed; (2), according to Bryant 1 & 2 *Spermacoce natalensis* Hochst.
13. *isAncasha*, (1, NND), *Scotia Transvaalensis* and (1) according to Mogg 1663 an asclepiadacea with edible roots.
14. *ulwAndlekazana*, according to Bryant a variety of yellow mealies having grains somewhat smaller than the *uThubini* another variety, having small black and white grains *i(li)Gcaki*; *i(li)Huma*. It ripens very quickly.
15. *isAndulela* (1), according to Bryant a certain herb.
16. *isAngcethe* (1, S&X), *Monsonia obovata*, used as a snake antidote.
17. *isAngume* (2, Bryant & Mogg), according to Mogg 6254 *Helichrysum undatum* Less., used as prophylactic (intelezi) against thunder.
18. *isAnhlangu* (1, NMA), the same as *isiHlangu*, *Gymnosporia Senegal*, etc.
19. *isAnhloko*, the pea-like seeds of the *iKhumalo*-bush, *Cassinopsis capensis* Sond., used as ornaments in Natal.

20. *is Ankuntshane* (general), "the adder tongue fern," *Ophioglossum reticulatum*, a much liked vegetable (*imfino*) growing often in unploughed old fields.
21. *is Anqante* (1), the same as *iNqantu*, certain Asclepiadaceae with edible roots.
22. *is Anqunyane*, "Diminutive of *umqumo*," used for the small shrubby forms of *Anastrabe integerrima* E.M., which is also called *umqumo*.
23. *is Antulutshwana*, "Diminutive of *umTulwa*," *Vangueria infausta* Burch.
24. *is Anyana*, according to Bryant *Tricalysia lanceolata* (Sond.) Schum.
25. *is Anywane* (1), according to Bryant name of a plant, put on a man's hearth that he may become generally disliked (*isiNywane*).
26. *is Anzwili*, according to Mogg 1520 *Trachypogon polymorphus* Hack, a common grass of the Highveld.
27. *is Aphethe* (1), according to Watt *Gaxania pinnata* Less. var. *integri-flora*.
28. *iy Aphula* (general), The apple.
29. *is Aphulageja*, "the breaker of the hoe," (1, NY), Labiate with white flowerets. The tough roots of this weed spoil the hoe.
30. *is Aqatha* (1), according to a note from Doke, an edible root.
31. *ulw Athile* (1, S & X), according to Schwaiger, *Hippobromus alata*.
32. *um Baba* (general in Zululand), the wild chestnut tree, *Calodendron capense* Thb.
33. *im Babazane* (general), all kind of stinging nettles besides "*imBongozembe*." The *Urticaceae* (true nettles) like *urtica urens* L. the European nettle, common in waste places; *Fleurya capensis* Wedd. and *Fleurya grossa* Wedd. the true African nettles growing usually along rivers and round springs between the reeds are edible and very much appreciated as vegetables (*imifino*) and also called *imBati*. They are used externally to induce sexual irritation in cattle. Further the probably poisonous euphorbiaceous genus *Tragia* L. *Tragia durbanensis* O. Kuntze, *Tragia meyeriana* Mull., *Tragia collina* Brain and *Tragia natalensis* Sond. are climbers in the Coast and river bushes and make a very nasty stinging entanglement. *Tragia incisifolia*, a low herb growing in dry bushveld is worse in stinging.
34. *im Babazane encane* (General) are called the climbing species of *Tragia*.

35. *imBabazane enkulu* (General) are called all the *Urticaceae*, the true nettles.
36. *imBabazane yehlanze* (1, *Bekamuzi* NMA), *Tragia incisifolia* Gerstner 1944.
37. *imBacu* (1, NS), a plant the root of which is used as emetic.
38. *i(li)Bada*, the same as *i(li)Bade*.
39. *i(li)Bade* (general), parts of different plants used as fringes and ornaments for the body, e.g. *Buphane disticha* Herb. of which the white inner scales (*iNcotho*) of the bulb have a pleasant scent and are stripped off for the head or tails of young men or women. Also *Helichrysum leiopodium* DC. D., the white underskin of its leaves is stripped off and used as fringes and ornaments for the body. They use also in the same way according to Mogg, *Helichrysum appendiculatum* Lers. (Mogg 6216) and *Helichrysum cephaloideum* (Mogg 6225).
40. *umBadlangu* (3, NES, NKA), a herbalist's medicine to give more strength.
41. *isiBaha* (general), an unknown tree of 2 ft diam. with alternate glossy lanceolate leaves full of oil cellules and very peppery hot root. Probably a composite like *Tarchonanthus* or *Brachylaena*. Flowers not yet found as there are all over the country only poor coppices, every year cut down right to the bottom, used all over and sold by the Native herbalists as one of the most famous expectorants.
42. *isiBaha sasenkungala* (3), according to Watt, *Vernonia natalensis* Sch. Bip. used as a substitute for the true *isiBaha*.
43. *isiBaha sehlanze*, the real *isiBaha*-tree.
44. *isiBahane* (1), *Wahlenbergia undulata* A. DC., a bitter emetic.
45. *uBala* (1), according to Mogg 1720 *Pelargonium* sp. The root is used against sore throats.
46. *umBamatsheni*, "the stone digger" (in Zululand general), *Erythroxylon brownianum* (the same as *Erythroxylon monogynum* Robb). sometimes erroneously mixed up with some *Phyllanthus* like *Phyllanthus myrtaceus*, etc., or even with *Ochna atropurpurea*, which are in a certain sense "stone diggers" as well.
47. *i(li)Bamuza*, inflated Pod of *u(lu)Singa*, so called from the sound it makes when clapped between the hands. *uSinga lwesalukazi*, "old woman's sinews" *Asclepias physocarpa* Schltr. sometimes called wild kapok and used to fill pillows.

48. *uBanana*, pl. *oBanana*, the banana, *Musa paradisiaca*, *Musa sapientum*, etc.
49. *umBanga* (1), a tree in Ngoye forest NZ.
50. *uBangabanga*, the same as *uBongabonga*.
51. *umBangabanga*, (probably the same as *umBongabonga*), (1, Wome Forest NHL), *Trema bracteolata* Blume, a quickly growing tree along rivers : (2, NES), *Canthium Queinzii* Sond., an also quickly growing straggler in Riverbush ; (1, Mogg 6852), *Cnicus lanceolatus* Willd., a thistle with purple heads, and (1, Mogg 6751), *Berkeya grossa*, another thistle.
52. *uBangabu* (1), *Macaranga capensis* Bth.
53. *Bangazele* (1, Mt Currie), *Heteromorpha arborescens* Ch. & Sch. (Mogg 1688).
54. *umBangazi* (fairly general in Zululand with the exception of Womebush where I found *umVangazi*). *Albizia mossambicensis* Sim. As the meaning of this name is more or less the same as *umBangabanga*, you may find this name used for other quickly-growing trees like *Macaranga capensis*, *Trema bracteolata* and *Eckebergia velutina* as well.
55. *imBanjane* (general, but not clear whether one or more kinds of grasses,) according to Mogg 6552 NZ and 2172 NO *Cymbopogon excavatus*, according to Mogg 6788 *Heteropogon contortus*. Twice I was told that they use it as a kind of spice for the *amadumbi*, but got no flowering specimens.
56. *umBantaka*, (1), according to Bryant a kind of tall thatching grass, somewhat like tambootie.
57. (*u*)*mBantini* (1, W & S), according to Burt Davy, *Trema bracteolata* Blume.
58. *u(lu)Baqa* (general), any straw e.g., of a tambootie grass, which, when dry, is lit and held like a torch to burn for lighting up (the same as *u(lu)Qunga*).
59. *'mBataga* (2 NO), according to Mogg, *Cymbopogon hirtus* L. and *Cymbopogon ceresiaeforme*, Nees.
60. *uBatata*, *oBatata* (general), all kinds of sweet potatoes.
61. *uBatata wentaba* (1, NMA), *Ipomoea albivenia* Sweet, the climbing kapok. The roots are eaten in time of famine.
62. *i(li)Bate*, the same as *i(li)Bade*.
63. *imBate*, the same as *imBati*.

64. *imBati* (general), all true nettles, *Urtica* and *Fleurya*, used as vegetables (cf. *imBabazane*).
65. *imBati encane* (1, NO), sometimes in this way erroneously applied to species of *Tragia*, commonly called *imBabazane encane*.
66. *i-mBaxu* (1), according to Bryant a certain creeping plant, whose roots yield fibre used in the making of *isiNene*, assegais, etc.
67. *imBawane* (1) herbalist's name for a medicine plant.
68. *umBebe* (1) according to Bryant the largest kind of *amasi* calabash (Cf. *isiHlali*). (2) (1, N & T) *Acacia pallens*, the knobthorn Acacia.
69. *uBebebe* (1, NND), medicine plant with labiate-shaped flower used in feverish conditions.
70. *i(li)Bece*, pl. *amaBece* (general), the fruit of the Native water melon *Citrillus vulgaris* Schrad.
71. *u(lu)Bece* (no plur.), (general), *Citrillus vulgaris* Schrad. Plant, shoots or leaves of the Native water melon.
72. *u(lu)Bece*, *iximBece*, seeds of the Native water melon, *Citrillus vulgaris*.
73. *umBegele*. (1, S&X), according to Sim, *Cussonia umbellifera* Sonder.
74. *i(li)Beja* (3), *Graderia scabra*, a pink flowering scophulariaceous.
75. *u(lu)Beje* (1) according to Bryant the name of a shrub. half parasite in grasslands ; root used for enema.
76. *i(li)Beka* (general), certain herb used as emetic for love charm. According to Mogg 7098 and 3768 *Pimpinella caffra*, but he records also (Mogg 1687) *Foeniculum vulgare* and *Bupleurum mundtii* as *iBeka*. Anyhow near relations.
77. *u(lu)Bekenyakatho* (2), *Vepris lanceolata* A. Juss., the white iron wood, used as a charm against *umkhovu*. Herbalist's expression.
78. *Belamcanda* (1) probably *Clematis brachiata* Thb.
79. *amaBelebele* (general in Zululand), unripe fruit of *inGotsha*, *Sarcostemma viminalis* R. Br., eaten as a kind of raw vegetable.
80. *uBelebele*, a rare form for the commonly called *uPelepele*, *Capsicum annuum* L., the Chili ; but doubtless to be derived from the name of the very similar and also hot pods which are called *amaBelebele* or *mBilibili*.
81. *umBelebele* (S&X),—*inGotsha*, *Sarcostemma viminalis* R. Br.
82. *i(li)Belekazana* (1, NES), *Asparagus falcatus* L.

83. *umBelele*. (1, Natal), according to Sim, *u(lu)Solo* or *Albizzia gummifera*.
84. *umBelwane* (1, S & X), according to Schwaiger, *Eugenia Zeyheri* Harv.
85. *isiBembedu* (the first three general, the latter two only sometimes called in this way), name of five very different trees or shrubs with definite rectangular crossbranching. Hence the name. *Anastrabe integerrima* E.M. etc., a very good timber, often found along the rivers; *Gardenia neuberia* E. & Z. in the closed forests; *Canthium spinosum* Klotzsch in the dry bushveld; *Canthium obovatum* (Kl.) and *Canthium ciliatum* (D. Dieter.), both occurring in mist-belt area.
86. *isiBembethe* (1), according to Boocock, *Gardenia neuberia* E. & Z., probably the same as *isiBembedu*.
87. *umBemethu* (1, NKA), *Gardenia neuberia* E. & Z., variation of *isiBembedu*.
88. *umBengabenga* (fairly general in Zululand and parts of Natal), *Trema bracteolata* Blume (cf. *umBongabonga*).
89. *umBengebenge* (1, NES), the same as *umBengabenga*.
90. *umBengele* (4). (2) according to Mogg & Burt Davy, *Trema bracteolata* Blume; (1) according to Schwaiger, *Cussonia umbellifera*; (1) according to Mogg, *Macaranga capensis*. Probably the same meaning as *umBongabonga*.
91. *imBengu*, cf. proper spelling *imPengu*.
92. *uBengubengu* (2), according to Mogg 1274 & 6855, *Brunsvigia Cooperi* Bkr and others.
93. *i(li)Betshe*, cf. *i(li)Beje*.
94. *uBetshezane* (1), according to Mogg 1251, *Digitaria eriantha* Stend, a grass.
95. *m'Betshu* (1, S & X), according to Mogg 1636, *Digitaria* sp., a good grazing grass.
96. *imBexe* (1), according to Bryant, a herb, whose roots yield a fibre for the tail-pieces of young men and boys.
97. *umBeza*, the right spelling is *umMbeza*.
98. *umBezi* (1), according to Bryant the name of a plant whose large bulbous roots are eaten in time of famine.
99. *umBezo* (1, W & S), according to Burt Davy, *Andrachne ovalis* Mull. Perhaps a kind of *umMbezo*.
100. *umBijaxane* (1, NZ), probably *Ocimum suave* Willd.

101. *umBijo* (1, Mogg), *Digitaria eriantha*, a grass used for making ornaments.
102. *imBikicane*, the same as *imBilikicane*.
103. *imBikihla* (3), certain forest tree used for sticks. Probably *Gardenia globosa* Hochst.
104. *umBila* (general), the mealie in all stages. Cf. the more correct writing *umMbila*.
105. *mBilibili* (1, W, & S), *Capsicum annuum* L. the Chili.
106. *imBilikicane* (general, also Xhosa & Fingo), *Chenopodium murale* L., *Chenopodium album* L., and *Chenopodium botrys* Sim., the goosefoot, used as wild vegetables (*imimfino*).
107. *imBilikihla* (1), according to Bryant a certain tree growing in coast districts.
108. *imBilo*, the same as *umEilo*.
109. *imBimbithwa* (1, NIM), *Watsonia densiflora* Baker.
110. *i(li)Binini* (general in Zululand), certain shrub *Embelia ruminata* Mez., whose roots are used as remedy for tapeworm, and the leaves of which are eaten as refreshment or bitter tonic by travellers and hungry herdboys.
111. *umBishimbishi* (3, NO), *Royena villosa* and another probably not-yet-named climbing Royena of the closed bush.
112. *mBitho* (1), according to Weintroub, *Amaranthus paniculatus* L.
113. *umBitzani* (1, W & S), according to Burt Davy, *Androstachys Johnsohni* Prain., a tree of the Transvaal.
114. *imBiza*, any herbs, used as boiled decoction for scrofula, chest complaints and general blood purifying purposes.
115. *imBizankulu*, more or less the same as *inGcino*, *Scilla rigidifolia* Kth. etc. and *Scilla natalensis* Planch, used as enema.
116. *umBizankulu*, the same as *imBizankulu*.
117. *imBizazewule*, the same as *umPhandazewule*, a medicine (plant ?)
118. *umBoße*, *Sideroxylon inerme* L., a tree, *Sapotacea*, growing in the dry bushveld of Zululand, also called *uMakhwelafinqane* or *ama-Sethole*.
119. *imBoßela* (general), certain veld-herb, eaten as *imimfino*, very nice field vegetable, *Asystasia Schimperi* T. and L.
120. *uBobo*, the same as *u(lu)uBoße*.

121. *i(li)Bodlolo*, n. (1), according to Bryant certain veld herb, having grayish leathery leaves.
122. *umBodiya* (3, NHL, NKA), *Ammocharis fulcata* Herb., the sand-lily, the viscous fluid of its big bulb is used for mixing with the *uNgiyane* in the making of a Native headring.
123. *imBoko* (1, NES), a shrub yielding a good stick.
124. *imBoma* (2), capsules of some lily-plants, Liliiflorae like Aloes, Cyrtanthus, etc.
125. *imBombo* (1, NO), a kind of wild vine, *Cissus spec.*
126. *u(lu)Bombo* (4), large long tubers of a kind of *isiKhwali*, according to Mogg 5644, 6759, & 6187, *Vigna vexillata* Bth.; the Natives eat these roots.
127. *imBomve* (1), according to Mogg, *Helichrysum coriaceum* Ribd.
128. *imBondwe*, the same as *umBondwe*.
129. *umBondwe* (general), *Plectranthus esculentus* N. E. Br., a Labiate, planted by the Natives since ancient times, not to be found wild, with small long narrow tubers in taste similar to sweet potatoes. Is also called *uTshwangu*, *UmHlaza* and *u(lu)Shizane*.
130. *imBone* (5, NZ & NUF), the giant beans (3 ft long) of a 70-100 ft. long climber, *Entada gigas*, a Mimosea of the Swamp-forests of Northern Zululand. The climbing stems, thick and turned like an endless kudu horn are called *amaShwila*. They contain latex.
131. *umBongabonga*, "to be derived from *bongozela*, grow quickly, something which grew up rapidly and is therefore soft and brittle. More or less the same meaning as *umBengebenge*, *umBengabenga*, *umBengele*, *imPengu*, *umPhenguphengu*, *uBangabanga* and *umBangabanga*. No wonder if used for very different trees, shrubs and herbs. (5, NES, NZ) *Macaranga capensis* Bth., (fairly general) *Trema bracteolata* Blume, (5, NES, NZ) *Solanum auriculatum* Ait. (2, NO) *Solanum giganteum* Jacq. (2) *Maesa alnifolia*, etc. and (1) *Vernonia spec.* Gerstner 2512.
132. *uBongabonga*, "big weed," e.g. *Helichrysum cooperi* Harv., a yellow flowering everlasting in gardens (5, NES), *Thephrosia grandiflora* Pers. common in old Native gardens with pink flowers (5, NZ, NES). *Erigeron canadensis* L. (3, NES) etc., etc.
133. *imBongozembe* (general), *Urera tenax* N. E. Br., usually a shrub but in inaccessible places like the Wome-forest a tree of 3 ft. diam. It is a painfully stinging nettle with the same leaves as the common

nettle and the fibre is the best, used much by the Zulu women for their hairdressing, esp. for making the top-knots.

134. *imBoni*, the same as *imBone*.
135. *umBonjana* (1), according to Bryant a thorny bush, whose sticks are used as wattles.
136. *uBontshisi*, *oBontshisi*, any kind of cultivated beans.
137. *uBontshela* (general), a Native vegetable (*imimfino*), *Nidorella foliosa* Cass. Also called *inTshawula*.
138. *i(li)Bontsi* (general), fruit and plant of *Salacia altermifolia* Hochst. a low shrub, 1-3 ft high, growing only along the sandy coast and along the sandy banks of the rivers near the sea. It bears a nice edible fruit in shape and colour like a mandarine.
139. *i(hi)Bogo* (general), fruit and tree of *Barringtonia racemosa* Roxb. Three of the fruits (smaller but anatomically very similar to Coconuts, and to be found swimming all over on our surfs) are said to make a good emetic solution against malaria. Every stick of the beautifully flowering tree with giant leaves will grow in wet black soil. To be found in swampy ground along the rivers near the sea, but not in brack water.
140. *uBogo* (general), a number of species of (probably always purple flowering) Ipomaea with bulbous roots, e.g. *Ipomaea ovata* E.M., whose black bulbs are eaten in time of famine and the root is used as love charm emetic, for smoking the fields and as charm against lightning. The same name and probably the same use have the very closely related *Ipomaea purpurea* Roth, *Ipomaea crassipes* HK in all variations, etc., etc.
141. *uBoqobogo* (1, NZ), *Maesa alnifolia* Harr. etc.
142. *i(li)Boqongwane*, (3 NZ) a kind of indigenous potato, bigger than the *amadada*. If you do not peel them, you become deaf.
143. *imBote*, the same as *imPoti* (1, W & S), *Ammocharis falcata* Herb.
144. *imBowa* (1, CDP), a plant.
145. *imBozisa* (general). Any medicine or plant used for causing decay or dying off in people, crops, etc., such as a witch uses. But it means also the counter-remedy and therefore certain plants, which have to my experience always a strong smell. In different regions different ones are called *imBozisa*, often planted at the kraal itself and used for sprinkling (*intelezi*), to chase off the evil spirits. The most common one was the *Umbellifera Lichtensteinia*

pyrethifolia Cham. & Seb. But the Natives soon found out that *Foeniculum vulgare*, the fennel, *Anethum graveolens*, the dill, escapes of the European gardens, have a similar but much stronger smell than *Lichtensteinia*. These two garden escapes are found now generally all over, planted at the Native kraals as *imBozisa*. Besides these strong-scented Umbelliferae you find strongly-scented Labiatae as *Plectranthus tomentosus* and especially often *Mentha-aquatica* L., the Watermint. Very often you find planted at kraals as *imBozisa*, *Platycarpha glomerata* Less. They also use the strongly-scented Geraniums and Chenopodiums.

146. *imBozisa amabunu*, *Mentha aquatica* L., Mogg 6813 & 7013.
147. *umBozisi* (1, Mogg), the same as *imBozisa*.
148. *isiBubu* (general), a few species of Gymnosporia, like *Gymnosporia buxifolia* (L) Szysz. with not very long thorns (like the *inGqwangane* group of Gymnosporias) and not with broad "shield-shaped" leaves (like the *isiHlangu* group of the Gymnosporias). They distinguish sometimes between *isiBubu esimhlophe*, *esimnyama*, *esiluhlaza*, *sehlanze*, *sehlati*. But the Gymnosporia need in my opinion another revision. Therefore I do not dare to give a final identification.
149. *imBubu encane* (2), soft grass used for thatching.
150. *imBubu enkulu* (2), soft long grass used for thatching.
151. *uBububu* (general), *Helinus ovata* E.M., a common climber in closed bush, used as emetic for hysteria and love charm.
152. *i(li)Bucu* (1), according to old tradition a certain tree, whose bark, introduced from Tongaland, is used as a killing medicine (*umbulelo*), causing swelling of the body. In my opinion only an incorrect but to the Native mind a more plausible explanation of syphilis. (General) *Bulbine natalensis* Baker, a succulent plant, in shape like *iCena*, *Aloe saponaria*, but with smaller yellow lily-flowers, whose stamens are bearded. Used as counter-remedy in cases of syphilis. Taken as drink and as enema in big quantities and said even by European doctors to be quite harmless but effective. *iBucu* is said to be the basis of the mixture causing the mysterious *iQondo*-sickness. The boy prepares an emetic drink from the root of this plant mixed together with a quantity of selected magical animal powders and animal fats. It is believed (by nearly all Natives) to work post concubitum through the girl fatally on the illicit rival lover of the same girl by producing swelling or impotency.

But it is my opinion only a very naive, to the mind of the Natives more plausible explanation, for the cause of syphilis and gonorrhoea. Anyhow *iQondo* is a fine excuse for the witch-doctor, if he has failed to cure properly these modern venereal diseases.

153. *imBufa* (1), according to Bews, *Zizyphus mucronata Willd.*, the common Buffelsdoorn-tree.
154. *imBuhlumbhulwane*, "the fragile shrub" (general), *Selago hyssopifolia E.M.*, *Achyranthes aspera L.*, *Cliffortia spec.*, etc.
155. *Bukluklu* (1, S & X), according to Mogg 1619, *Cluytia dregeana*.
156. *u(lu)Buku*, according to Bews, *Oncinotis inandensis Wood & Evans*, a climber with latex, very abundant, e.g., in Eshowe bush round the compound of Adams Store.
157. *uBukubuku* (2, Mogg 6372 & 5714), *Scirpus paludicola*, also called *i(li)Qumbu* used for making *isiThebe*. (1, Mogg 5715) *Juncus effusus*, anyhow certain kinds of rush.
158. *imBula*, the same as *imBuya*.
159. *umBulunyathi* (1), according to Bews, *Osyris abyssinica Hochst.*, an occasional shrub in thornveld.
160. *umBukwana* (1), according to Mogg, a Mountain Aloe (Mont aux Sources).
161. *i(li)Buma* (general), *Thypha latifolia subsp. capensis Rohrb.*, the water flag. Used for making *amacansi* (sleeping mats).
162. *imBumba*, no plur. (general), a certain bean either the pod, the actual bean or the bean plant.
163. *umBumbungane* (1, NZ) *Commiphora Harveyi Engl.*, a tree.
164. *i(li)Bundlubundlu* (1, NND), *Achyranthes aspera L.*, a common weed.
165. *imBundlumbundlwana* (1, M. Zulu NMA) an *iKhambi*, house medicine.
166. *imBune*, "withering plant" (general), *Mimosa pudica L.*, the sensitive plant, is said to make man sterile. (1), the same as *imBone*.
167. *i(li)Buqu* (1), according to Mogg, a plant the fruits of which are eaten.
168. *uBusha*, the same as *amaQatha*, according to Bryant an *Aphrodisiacum*.

169. *imButhane* (1), according to Bews, *Andropogon pertusus* Willd., a kind of scented grass.
170. *uButshamoya* (1) a medicinal plant.
171. *imBuya* (general) *Amarantus Thunbergii* Moquin, much liked as *imimfino*, vegetable, when young. Also *Amarantus paniculatus* L. (1), a fungus, growing in damp huts, from which the *abathakathi* are supposed to extract a poison.
172. *imBuyabathwa* (general) *Amarantus spinosus* L., the prickly pig weed, usually not eaten as *imimfino*.
173. *isiBuyana* (1), *Hibiscus physaloides* G. & P. a troublesome weed in gardens, which if cut with the hoe, puts forth more side branches than before. Hence the name.
174. *i(li)Buzampukane* (2, NHL), *Senecio serratuloides* DC., if overcrowded with flies.
175. *imBuzana* (1, NMA), *Ipomoea albivenia* Sweet., climbing kapok.
176. *isiBuzana* (2), according to Mogg 6640 & 6524, a kind of Andropogon-grass.
177. *isiBuzi* (1), certain kind of grass, *Andropogon finitimus*. (1, S & X) a giant grass.
178. *uBabazi* (3, S & X probably of Pondo origin), *Urtica urens* L., the European nettle.
179. *u(lu)Babe* (general, the Buffalo grass), having broad soft leaves and growing in half shade among bushes. Cattle and horses are usually very fond of this kind of grass. The typical one is *Panicum maximum* Jacq., but they use this name as well for *Panicum excurrens*, *Setaria Chevalieri* Stapf., *Setaria sulcata* Radd., *Paspalum scrobiculatum* L. (Mogg 3864) and others.
180. *u(lu)Babe olukhulu* (general), *Panicum maximum* Jacq. etc.
181. *u(lu)Babe oluncane* (general), the smaller species of Buffalo grasses, very much liked by cattle and horses.
182. *u(lu)Babule* (1, Binder), *Fourcroyia variegata*., a sisal.
183. *umBalele*, according to Bews *Synadenium arborescens* Boiss., a tree.
184. *umBambalele*, *Oplismenus africanus* var. *simplex* Stapf., a shade loving forest grass.
185. *umBambampalu* (5) (NS, NUB), "the impala's trap," a gregarious small tree or shrub with hooks, *Acacia retinens* Sim., (or *Acacia Gillittiae, reficiens*), occurring along the middle Mkuzi and from there North.

186. *umBambane* (1), *Doryalis caffra* (Hk & Harv) Sim., a tree.
187. *uBambakugxuma* (1 NES), herbalist's medicine to strengthen the heart.
188. *umBambangwe* i.e. "the Leopard's trap," *Chaetacme aristata* Planch., a handsome tree (2 ft. diam.) of the closed forests with horrible thorns. Some give erroneously this name to some climbers with many hooky prickles as *uFenisi*, *uSondelagange* and *uBoße*.
189. *isiBanda* (1), according to Bews, *Rhus laevigata* L., a tree in forests.
190. *umBanda*, the same as *umBandu*.
191. *isiBande* (1), according to Bryant name for *isiQunga*, tambootie-grass when young.
192. *u(lu)Bande* (2), probably a piece of *umTomboti*-wood (*Spirostachys africana*), used as ingredient for the scent balls (*amaka*) of the heathen girls.
193. *umBandu* (3, N&T), *Lonchocarpus capassa* Rolfe, (1, Bews) Strychnos spec.—supposed to be a tree the bark of which is used for a tea (only a table-spoonful at one time) against dysentery.
194. *u(lu)Bane*, the same as *u(lu)Bani*.
195. *isiBangabulonga*, according to Chapman *Vangueria lasiantha* Sond. (probably S & T).
196. *u(lu)Bangalala* (general in Zululand), veld plant or plants, used (often together with *uQonzi*) to cause sexual excitement in man. They cook the roots in milk and take a mouthful from time to time. (5, NES & NND) Hibiscus spec. (1), according to Watt *Corchorus asplenifolius* Burch. Some say there are three kinds of this medicine.
197. *isiBangamlotha (sasenkangala)*, (general), *Antidesma venosum* Tul. The berries are at first red and then turn black and edible, the favourite food of the *iVukuthu*, the water dove. The bark of the roots is used against dysentery.
198. *isiBangamlotha (sehlathi)*, (2, NES) *Fluggea virosa* (dest. Kew!) (probably the same as *Phyllanthus amapondensis* Sim) (dest. Gerstner!) a huge (3 x 100 ft) excellent timber tree of Eshowe forest, the red longitudinally fissured bark reminds of a pine tree.
199. *umBangandlala* (General), *Heteromorpha arborescens* Ch. & Sch., a small tree making very bad firewood; the bark is said to be used for colic and scrofula and as a vermifuge for horses. If you chew

the root, you get more appetite ; hence the name. It has three different forms of leaves : simple, trifoliate and pinnate ones. Hence the Latin name "*Heteromorpha*."

200. *umBangandlela* (S & X), the same as *umBangandlala*.
201. *isiBangu* (3), a medicinal plant of the herbalists, the bark of which they use as emetic to help the blood.
202. *umBangwangwa* (1, NND), *Chironia Krebsii* & *Chironia rosacea*, a beautifully pink flowering Gentianacea growing in swamps. It has usually no name.
203. *u(lu)Buni* (general), *Agapanthus umbellatus* L'Herit and *Agapanthus umbellatus* var. *minor* Lodd., the beautifully blue flowering Agapanthus Lily, the roots of which are used as love-charm emetic by young men.
204. *i(li)Basa*, a herbalist's plant medicine, used as love charm emetic. ND.
205. *i(li)Batha* (1, NES), the same as *i(li)Bade*.
206. *uBathini* (3, NES), *Trema bracteolata* Blume, the pigeon wood, a common tree in closed forests.
207. *uBathonyile* (1), herbalists' name for a certain love charm-medicine.
208. *ubuBazi* (1, Maria Zulu NMA), *imiFino* probably an Urticacea ; (2) The same as *imBongoxembe*, *Urera tenax* N. E. Br.
209. *isiBaziba* (1, NMA), *Spermacoce natalensis* Hochst., a weed in the fields.
210. *amaBele* (general) *Andropogon Sorghum vulgare* Pres., the Caffir-corn, Millet ; (1, Schwaiger) *Pennisetum typhoideum* Rich.
211. *amaBelejongosi* (1), according to Bryant, *Eulophia arenaria* Bohn., used as remedy for impotency (cf. *iHlamvu*).
212. *iBele-lemбуzi* (2, Ongoye) NZ, *Carissa Wylei*. N.E. Br.
213. *iBele-lendlovu*, fruit or tree of *umBele-wendlovu*.
214. *amaBelenyoni* (3, ND), *Cyrtanthus angustifolius* Ait., fire lily.
215. *umBele-webokwe* (1), according to Weintraub 244, an unknown plant, yielding foodstuff.
216. *umBele-wendlovu* (4, NS), *Kigelia pinnata* DC., the sausage-tree, in Zululand called *umFongothi*.
217. *uBendle*, the correct spelling is *uBEndle*.
218. *u(lu)Benyane* (3), according to Wood, *Oplismenus africanus*; but also a climbing grass of the Entumeni forest, 12ft. high.

219. *i(li)Bethe* (1, NZ), the same as *umDuze*. *Crinum falcatum*. Cf. *uBethe* ! a lily.
220. *uBethe* (1), herbalist's expression for a plant used for enema.
221. *umBethe* (1), according to Watt, *Cluytia* sp., (S & X, Fingo). They use a paste of the leaves against rheumatism.
222. *i(li)Beyana* (1, NIN) according to Boocock, *Heywoodia lucens*.
223. *isiBiba* (general), any antidote against snake-bite.
224. *uBibi* (2), NND & NS *Acacia barbertonensis* *Schwaighard*, a shrubby *Acacia* with very small sticky leaflets.
225. *i(li)Bicongo* (general in Zululand), two different trees : (a) *Thespesia populnea* Cav., heart of the wood a black timber, first soft, good for carving, becomes later on hard. Very good for ornamental sticks. (b) *Cordia caffra* Sond., also good for sticks. The ripe honey-coloured fruits are eatable. (c) According to Sim (1, N & T), *Tricalysia capensis* (Meisn.) Sim.
226. *isiEihla* (5, NUF), *Randia dumentorum* Lam., sometimes also *Randia rudis* E.M. (1).
227. *isiEihli*, the same as *isiEihla*, used against fever.
228. *uEihli* (1, NES), *Senecio lanceus*, a herb root used as *iNembe*.
229. *umEilo*, according to Sim (N & T), *Pterocarpus angolensis* DC., the Bloodwood, a very good timber.
230. *umEimbane*, according to Bews, *Eragrostis brizoides* Nees., a common grass in the veld.
231. *isiBincu* (3), a woolly species of *Helichrysum*, the fresh leaves of which are used as a styptic in menstruation and circumcision to stop the too free running of blood.
232. *i(li)Einda* (1, NES), *Canthium Queinzii* Sond., a tree.
233. *isiBinda esikhal' amasi* (4, NES & NZ), *Garcinia Gerrardi*, a hardwooded, medium-sized forest tree.
234. *isiEinda esingakhal' amasi* (3, NES), *Oxyanthus gerrardi* Sond., *Oxyanthus latifolius* Sond., *Oxyanthus natalensis* Sond., three forest trees resembling in flower very much a coffee-tree, but having much larger leaves.
235. *umBindanguluβe* (1, NKA), a tree similar to *Rawsonia lucida*.
236. *isiEindi somuthi*, any mushroom coming out in liver form from a old tree stump.

237. *umBingizane* (1, NKA), probably the same as *umPinkizane*, *Cyrtanthus angustifolius* Ait.
238. *umBinza* (S & X), *Halleria lucida* L., the wild Fuchsia tree with edible berries:
239. *u(lu)Bisana* (2, NZ), *Trichocladus crinitus* Pers., a small tree of forests.
240. *u(lu)Boße*, "a thicket" and (more or less general) all the climbing and prickly Mimoseae of Natal, as (fairly general) *Entada natalensis* Bth. (1, NES), *Acacia pennata* Willd. (2, NND), *Acacia ataxacantha* DC. and (2, NPN) *Acacia Kraussiana* Meisn.
241. *umBobinyamazane*, the same as *umBophanyamazane*.
242. *i(li)Bobo* (2), perhaps a grass, not clear because there are two very different records.
243. *umBofanyamagone* (1), according to Bews, *Cassine kraussianum* Sim., a tree of the bushveld.
244. *uBogabogi* (1) a tree of Natal.
245. *uBohla* (2), a rubiaceous shrub.
246. *i(li)Bohlololo*, "to be derived from *Bohla* or *thoba*, i.e. cease to be swollen," (quite general), *Aptenia cordifolia*, a succulent climbing Mesembrianthemaceae with very small star-shaped crimson flowerets used as poultice and very often as mild enema for babies and therefore often planted on the kraal fence to be always at hand. Another plant with similar star-shaped crimson flowerets, also more or less climbing, but belonging to the Amarant-family is (5, NES, NO) *Achyroopsis avicularis* Hookf., used as poultice. Bryant records under this name (1), *Senecio speciosus* Willd., (for which I never got a reliable name in Zululand) used against chest complaints.
247. *umBola* (1, ND), a herbalist's medicine against hysteria.
248. *uBole* (1), supposed to be a tree in Natal.
249. *uBomane* (1, NZ), *Justitia campylostemon* T. And. a shrub.
250. *umBomane* (1), according to Bews, *Isoglossa woodii* C.B. Cl. a herb.
251. *uBombe*, according to Mogg 5644, the same as *imBombo*.
252. *umBombe* (fairly general NND, NZ, NG, but not so often found as *umThombe*), *Ficus natalensis* Hochst., etc.
253. *umBomvana*, sometimes used for *umBovana*.

254. *umBomvane* (2, S & X) *Cassine croceum* DC., a famous *umbulelo* of the Xhosa.
255. *umBomvane-ngcingci* (1), according to Burt Davy *Ochna natalitia* Engl. & Gilg.
256. *i(li)Bomvathi* (S & X), *Oxyanthus Gerrardi* Sond. and *Rubia petiolaris* DC.
257. *umBondi*, according to Bews, some *Combreta*, the common and more correct Zulu name is *umBondwe*.
258. *umBondwe* (general), several kinds of trees of the Combretum family, all growing very slowly, occurring in warm bushveld and yielding very hard timber. Cf. *umBondwe omhlophe*, *umBondwe omnyama* "*imPondendlovu*" and *umDubu*. Meaning of name may be "hard like horn."
259. *umBondwe 'mhlophe* (general W & S), *Combretum Zeyheri*, (general all over), *Combretum Gueinzii* Sond. (general), *Combretum holosericeum* and according to Sim (1, N & T) *Combretum zuluense* Engl. & Dicks.
260. *umBondwe omnyama* (general) one or several kind of the Combretum family, e.g. *Combretum apiculatum* Sond., with very thin, glabrous leaves, looking rather dark from afar.
261. *umBonemfana*, according to Bews, *Canthium obovatum* (Kl.), a thorny shrub.
262. *umBongisa* (3, S & X), *Royena villosa* L., *Royena cordata* E.M. and perhaps as well *Royena pallens* Thb.
263. *i(li)Bonya* (W&S), *Melianthus comosus* Vahl. Used against snake bite. Poultice applied to bad sores.
264. *umBonzane* (1, NZ), a shrub yielding good sticks.
265. *umBophanyamazane* (general), *Euclea undulata* E.M. and *Euclea spec.* Some call only the male plant of *Euclea undulata* so, and name the female plant *umShekisane* (NUF, NO). Makes sometimes nearly impenetrable thickets. If the path of the duiker leads past, they put their slings there. Hence called "Buck's trap."
266. *i(li)Bopho* (1), according to Mogg 3872, a kind of Andropogon-grass, used for thatching.
267. *i(li)Bophwani* (2), according to Mogg 6554 & 7089, *Sium Thunbergii* DC. used in hot milk against *umkhuhlane*, a feverish condition.
268. *uBovane* (1, NPN), the same as *umBovane*.

269. *umBovane* (general), *Ochna atropurpurea* DC., yields very good sticks and knobkerries and fine timber. (3, Locally at Qudeni NKA). *Eugenia Zeyheri* Harr. with edible berries, also a very good timber. (1), according to Bryant, *Cassine croceum* DC., the Saffron wood. Bark is good for tanning. (1, NND) the same as *umHlatholana*, *Turraea obtusifolia* Hochst.
270. *i(li)Bovathi* (1), according to Bews the same as *i(li)Bomvathi*.
271. *umBovu* (1, NES), *Ochna natalitia* Engl. & Gilg., used for good sticks.
272. *uBoya* (1), according to Bryant a variety of *imfe*, a Native sweet cane.
273. *i(li)Boza* (general), *Moschosma riparia* N.E. Br., a showy shrub in early springtime, when having no leaves blooming with huge panicles of thousands of mauve flowerets. The hairy leaves, appearing afterwards are used to prepare without boiling a drink, which is praised all over as the best house medicine against coughs and chest complaints.
274. *umBoza* (1), *Andrachne spec.*, roots are said to be a cure against snake bite.
275. *i(li)Boza lehlathi* (5, NES, ND), *Plectranthus tomentosus* Bth. and *Plectranthus hirtus* Benth., used for enema, but not recommended for cough-drinks.
276. *i(li)Bozane*, (general) diminutive of *i(li)Boza*.
277. *isiBozanyana* (1, *Maria Zulu*, NMA), a house medicine of the Royal family.
278. *umBozwa*, two different records (1, NES) *Weihea Gerrardi* Schintz and (1, NZ Ngoye) *Clerodendron myricoides*, R.Br.
279. *i(li)Eubathe* (2, W & S), *Urtica urens* L., a nettle.
280. *i(li)Eubazi* (1, Weintroub,) *Urtica urens* L., a nettle.
281. *u(lu)Eubu*, according to Bryant the same as *u(lu)Mbimbi* and also a small tree; according to Bews and Sim, *Choristylis rhamnoides* Harr., a small scandent shrub.
282. *uButhlungu-benyoka* (1), according to Bews, *Acocanthera spectabilis* Hk. f. (cf. *inHlungunyembe*).
283. *i(li)Bulawa* (1, Watt, S & X) "a bitter astringent," *Sebaea crassulaefolia*, used against snake bite, stitch and dysentery.

284. *uEulibazi* (1), according to the herbalist Seth Bengu NES, *umuthi wokukhohlwa owokubanga*.
285. *i(li)Bunda* (general), the forest tree, *Dombeya natalensis* Sond., whose skinny bark is used for making baskets. Also the more shrubby forms like *Dombeya burgessiae* Gerr. and *Dombeya pulchra* N.E., Br. all from the forests.
286. *isiBundane* (1, Mogg 6679) *Sparmannia palmata* E. Mey., but this name may be used of course for any small *i(li)Bunda*-plant as well.
287. *i(li)Bundu*, the same as *i(li)Bunda*.
288. *i(li)Bunga*, (1), probably an Acalypha-tree (NP), considered valuable as a medicine against headache ; a twig is burnt and the smoke inhaled through the nostrils. (1) Also certain plant used as an *umBulelo* for causing " rot or decay " in a kraal. (1) Also the same as *i(li)Bunda*.
289. *umBungane* (1), according to Bews, *Chloris petraea* Thb., a grass growing on open rocky hillsides.
290. *umBungashe* (2, S & X) *Lichtensteinia interrupta*, a herb.
291. *umBungaze* (1), according to Mogg 6730, *Berkeya grossa*, a thistle.
292. *umBunge* (2, NIM), *Greyia Sutherlandi* HK & Harr.
293. *i(li)Bungo* (1), a plant with edible parts, according to Weintroub.
294. *i(li)Bungu* (general) *Cyperus papyrus* L. (1), according to Mogg also *Cyperus isocladius* Kth., also a veldgrass and according to Sim, *Landolphia capensis* Oliv.
295. *isiBusane*, according to Bews, *Andropogon filipendulus* Hochst, a grass of the coast-veld.
296. *i(li)Buthe* (1), *Alberta magna* E.M., a tree.
297. *i(li)Butha* (general) a love charm emetic, used all over the country, consisting of the root-bulbs of certain kinds of Asparagus. The typical species are *Asparagus medioloides* Thb. and *Asparagus asparagoides*, a substitute is *Asparagus larinicus*.
298. *amaBuye* (3, NUF), *Parinarium mobola* a Rosacea, in Zululand a dwarfy shrub of the *iIala-veld* with oval 1 x 2 inch fruit, which tastes like sweet potatoes. In Rhodesia it develops into a big tree.

(To be continued)

THE STUDY OF NATIVE LAW IN SOUTH AFRICA

By H. J. SIMONS

Native customary law has been accorded the status of a recognised legal system in the Union. Much of the old tribal law has been abrogated, and the legislature and courts have greatly modified what remains, but it flourishes with almost surprising vigour. Yet it has received little attention from the legal profession, as is evidenced by its absence from the curricula for law students in most of our universities, the infrequency of references to Native law in the *South African Law Journal*, and the opening statement in the latest law textbook that "the national law of South Africa is based almost entirely on a system of law known as the Roman-Dutch Law."¹ More remarkable, perhaps, is that no anthropologist has made a study of any body of tribal laws in the Union that is comparable to Professor Schapera's recently published work on Tswana law.²

The student of Native law must look for his material to general ethnographical works, or to such records of decided cases as are available. In the one instance he is embarrassed by wide gaps in the information, on both principle and detail; while the court decisions are often a statement, not of Native law, but of interpretations placed upon it by judicial officers who rarely have an intimate knowledge of social anthropology or jurisprudence. The quality of Professor Schapera's book will make him still more conscious of the need of similar studies in the Union, in the interests of comparative jurisprudence and the legal practitioner.

Professor Schapera's success in presenting a wealth of detail without obscuring the legal rules (an achievement seldom found in anthropological records of primitive law), is the more notable in that he has dealt with all the Tswana tribes, and with the differences between the laws of the various groups, in Bechuanaland Protectorate. The differences are not only customary, such as those described in the first chapter on social organisation, but proceed also from legislative changes by the chiefs in response to the situations created through contact with European society. Numerous instances of such changes are given, particularly in the four chapters on family life, as, for example, the prohibition of

¹ G. Wille, *Principles of South African Law* 1937

² *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* 1938

bogadi among the Ngwato, or of polygyny among the Ngwaketse, or the rules regarding the return of *bogadi* upon divorce among the Kgatla.

Though land tenure and the system of agriculture have been less disturbed in Bechuanaland than in most parts of the Union, the sections on the law of property and of contract show that in other respects economic activities and the corresponding legal rules are undergoing modification. Individual rights of ownership and use have emerged in connection with boreholes and water wells, and the surrounding grazing lands; the Ngwato prohibit the hunting of big game without the Chief's permission; wage earning is now an important means of acquiring cattle, and as a result the Ngwaketse have adopted a law enabling the young men to hold cattle in their own right; and among the Kgatla a child is now allowed to inherit property that has been "named" after him.

Four chapters on the constitutions of the tribes have a special interest in view of the steps taken in 1934 and subsequently to regulate formally the position of the chiefs and their councils, and to bring them and the tribal courts under the Administration's supervision. Unlike in the Union, the chiefs exercise wide executive and judicial powers. Certain functions such as military leadership and the performance of religious ceremonies, have disappeared, and others have been curtailed by administrative action, but through the assumption of new responsibilities which bring fresh sources of power, the chief appears to have retained the authority of his office, though not necessarily the full allegiance of his people. The observation that "European government has deprived them of such remedies as they formerly possessed against oppression and abuse" (p. 86) suggests the question whether the people are attempting to find new remedies in the nature of a "rule of law" against a corrupt or inefficient chief.

Tswana law, then, has changed, together with changes in the ideas and behaviour of people under the influence of European civilisation. The process is one with which we in the Union are very familiar. It is one of the main reasons why authoritative records should be made of the systems of tribal law, not merely for theoretical purposes, but on the ground of expediency. For there is a real danger that the people will forget their own laws. The late Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland Protectorate, in an introduction to the book, quotes the statements of Natives to the effect that among chiefs and tribesmen much ignorance exists about their laws and customs, as a result of which newly appointed chiefs might give wrong decisions. The possibility of error is certainly greater in the Union, where the law is administered by European offi-

cials who do not, as a rule, study it systematically. They are advised by Native assessors, but the assessors often disagree among themselves on points of law, and, if they are educated, tend to view matters "rather from the European standpoint."¹

An even more important consideration is that, because of the far-reaching changes in tribal society, the law needs to be constantly moulded to fit the new social conditions. If there is no conscious direction, the courts are likely to apply outworn legal principles which cause hardship to individuals and put a brake on progress. In Bechuanaland the tribal courts, which have only recently begun to keep written records, rely for their precedents upon the memories of elders. These may be defective but, as Professor Schapera shows in the chapter on the nature and sources of Tswana law, unwritten tradition allows room for flexibility. Where, as in the Union, precedents are rigidly followed, the existence of a large volume of case law may create maladjustments similar to those that occur when tribal law is prematurely codified.

When Native law is incorporated into a modern legal system, its development is subjected to a body of rules that has a life of its own, independently of the external social process with which the law should be harmonized. In the Native Commissioners' Courts, the principles of Native law are being clarified and systematized, but they are not being adequately adapted to deal effectively with the complexities of African society in its present state. Our lawyers are trained in the conservative traditions of a well-defined legal system which operates in a relatively stable social environment. Their training does not provide an insight into the nature of the changes in African culture, nor does it direct attention to the creative side of the judicial function in adjusting law to social relations.

The Native Commissioners' Courts administer primarily statutory and common (i.e. Roman-Dutch) law, with a discretionary right to apply Native law in proceedings that involve questions peculiar to Native custom.² Their practice is to apply the common law when the aggrieved party has no remedy under the Native law, as in an action for damages for assault,³ or for defamation;⁴ or when the parties have adopted a European mode of living;⁵ or when the Native law is repugnant to equity and justice, or to provisions of the statutory law.⁶ This dualism has its

¹ *Abram Motaung v. Timothy Motaung*, 1930, Native Appeal Court (T. & N.), 36.

² *Nganoyi v. Njombeni*, 1930 N.A.C. (C. & O.) 18.

³ *Madumo v. Manne*, 1932 N.A.C. (T. & N.)

⁴ *Muguboya v. Mutato*, 1929 N.A.C. (T. & N.) 73.

⁵ *Ntsabelle v. Poolo*, 1930 N. A. C. (T. & N.) 13.

⁶ *Nolanti v. Sintenteni*, 1 N.A.C. (Trskei) 43.

drawbacks, in that it creates uncertainty as to which system of law will be applied, but it affords an essential means of distinguishing between individuals with different backgrounds and status.

The Courts have shown some reluctance to make this distinction, and draw even the "detrified" African into the sphere of the common law. In an action for seduction and maintenance between Africans domiciled in Johannesburg, the President (Stubbs) of the Appeal Court, in agreeing with the Native Commissioner that common law principles should apply, said: "I, however, take this view most reluctantly because the moment we break away from established institutions of Native customary law in these matters, we find ourselves confronted with innumerable fine distinctions and complications. For example, the rules of evidence as to proof of seduction or paternity are more simple in Native law than in our law; again, the seduction of an unmarried woman who has already had a child is actionable among certain tribes, while, with us in modern practice an action for seduction is only in favour of a virgin who has lost her virginity by reason of the seduction. Many other distinctions calculated to confuse and perplex a people less enlightened than ourselves could be enumerated, but I think by indicating the above two I have sufficiently shown how desirable it is in cases of this nature to avoid, as far as possible, getting away from a system of law, whatever its shortcomings may be from our standpoint, that is more in harmony with Native standards and their conceptions of equity and justice."¹

The case for a policy of gradualness would be convincing, were it not that the conceptions and standards of behaviour of a large proportion of the African population no longer correspond to the basic principles of Native law. The main objection to the application on a large scale of Roman-Dutch law is not its complexity (on matters of succession and inheritance the Native law is certainly no simpler), but the fact that African culture, in spite of the revolutionary change it has gone through, still differs in material respects from European culture. The Bantu are creating new cultural forms, to which neither the Roman-Dutch nor Native law, suitable though they may be for individuals and particular situations, are entirely well-adjusted.

The greater part of existing Native law deals with the rights and duties of persons as members of a family group which is polygynous, patrilineal, patriarchal, and patrilocal. The subordination of the members to the family head, and their reciprocal relations, are circumscribed by rules that can operate only when the extended family

¹ *Monaheng v. Komupi*, 1930 N.A.C. (T. & N.), at p. 93.

functions as a territorial and social unit. It follows that the emergence of the monogamous, individual family unit, the breaking up of kinship groupings, and the emancipation of youth from parental control, which have occurred under European influence, must greatly alter the relations upon which the law is based. The change has been recognised in many respects by our legislatures and courts, but only within certain spheres and in a somewhat haphazard way.

The age of legal majority, for example, is fixed by statutory law at 21 years for males and females in the Cape Province; in Natal under the Code men become majors at 21 or on marriage, but a woman is a perpetual minor unless freed from guardianship by order of court; while in the other two Provinces the original Native law, which does not fix majority by age, appears to apply. In the Cape widows and unmarried girls who have attained the age of majority may acquire and hold property in their own right. Elsewhere their earnings attach to their respective "houses," and are vested in their guardians. The same rule applies generally to the earnings of married women.

In the Cape it has been laid down that the father of an illegitimate child may claim it at any time if he has paid the fine for pregnancy.¹ Under the Natal Code, he can claim custody only by marrying the mother, and this principle was applied in a Transvaal suit between a Swazi and an Msutu, on the ground that the Defendant lived in an area, in Wakkerstroom district, where Zulu custom prevailed.²

Although in the Cape a spinster of full age may hold property and bequeath it by will, her illegitimate son cannot inherit it if she dies intestate, for under Native law it belongs to her father, or, if he is dead, then to the heir of the house to which she belonged.³ Under Pondo custom, the adulterine child of a married woman can never inherit the property of her husband, even though the child was brought up at the husband's kraal; but the illegitimate child of the husband can inherit in the absence of legitimate male children.⁴ Under the Natal Code, an illegitimate child has no right of inheritance, except from a mother who has been emancipated and invested with full rights of ownership.

In the Transvaal an heir has been held liable for all the debts of his late father, regardless of what assets were left.⁵ The Natal Code limits his liability to the extent of the assets to which he succeeds.

¹ *Matinise v. Malote*, 1936 N.A.C. (C.&O.) 121.

² *Tembekwayo v. Mlife*, 1933 N.A.C. (T.&N.)

³ *E. Ndema v. S. Ndema*, 1936 N.A.C. (C.&O.) 15.

⁴ *Mbulawa v. Manziwa*, 1936 N.A.C. (C.&O.) 76.

⁵ *Maguga v. Scotch*, 1931 N.A.C. (T.&N.)

Cases such as these, in which differences of principle are not always due to differences between tribal laws, suggest that the Native law is developing in an uneven manner, and without the guidance of a conscious policy. The position of widows and deserted wives, of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, of women whose marriages under Native law are automatically dissolved by the subsequent marriage of the husband according to European forms, is far from satisfactory at the present time. The break up of the tribal family and the introduction of the Christian marriage, together with the other factors that have altered the relations between parents and children, husbands and wives, are producing a situation in which the original Native law is proving inadequate for the functions of protecting those individuals who are least able to care for themselves. This could probably be illustrated from experience in any large town in the Union.

Native law will have to be remoulded. The task is very similar to that which was performed by the Roman jurists who blended the law of citizens and aliens into a uniform pattern. The Native Commissioners' Courts, with the assistance of the legislature, will probably achieve the same result. But surely the most efficient and speediest solution would be to have prepared a series of studies of Native law in relation to African Culture as it exists to-day, studies of which Professor Schapera's work is the forerunner.

THE USE OF THE IDEOPHONE

The following was communicated in a letter by the Rev. A. Burbridge, S.J., from Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia :

“ You are aware of the criticism of *Uganda Martyrs*, made by some, that it bristles with radicals (ideophones). ‘ No Native,’ say they, ‘ talks like that.’ An answer to this is found in a story of an event, which recently happened in actual life, narrated by a Native eye witness, which I send herewith ; it was reported also in the *Police Review* as police experience. The nature of the event calls for a prodigal use of the ideophone : the poignant distress of the mother tugging at the tail and finally jumping on the back of the crocodile, and so with the shock forcing the brute to disgorge her child. Now observe : not until the Native narrator passes from calm narration (one third of the story) to emotional description of the tragic predicament of mother and child, does *kuti* appear ; but once the *descriptive* comes into play, the colours are laid on thick, and the ideophones fly thick and fast. Now go back to the *Uganda Martyrs* where you have a rapid succession of events and the whole situation charged with emotion at the highest pitch, *just as in this story*. My answer then to the criticism of *Uganda Martyrs*, ‘ Natives don’t talk like that,’ is : ‘ Not in ordinary narration, agreed ; but in descriptive narration in which emotions are highly wrought upon—that is another matter.’ Then it is that the vivid descriptive power of *kuti* is seen, and *the human appeal* is made, and the depths of pathos are stirred by this medium of expression of intensely-wrought emotion without parallel in any other language. The ideophone is the key to Native descriptive oratory. I can’t imagine a Native speaking in public with intense feeling without using it.”

BOOK REVIEWS

Facing Mount Kenya, by Jomo Kenyatta (with intro. by B. Malinowski), 339 pp. illus. Secker & Warburg, London, 1938, 12/6 net.

This is in many respects a remarkable book. The author, a Native of the Gikuyu tribe of Kenya Colony, is one of the first Native Africans to write an anthropological monograph on his own people. There is more definite attempt at anthropological approach in this publication than in Soga's *South-eastern Bantu*, and Kenyatta has been studying Anthropology with Professor Malinowski. The author is writing in a foreign tongue, but his English scarcely betrays that fact—except that some of his descriptions (as for instance those in his chapter on “Religion and Ancestor Worship”) are unduly drawn-out, a fault far less noticeable in a Bantu language where repetition excels.

A study of the Gikuyu is almost a unique one in Africa, for the Native governmental system is that of a democracy based on rule of the elders and involving a somewhat intricate system of age-grades. It is here that advance in age is more and more honourable, and retiral from warriorhood into eldership the greatest honour—old age seems not to cast the shadow over the Gikuyu that it does in Western civilization. Kenyatta, who has served his people as spokesman before several important Commissions, is an authority on many points of tribal custom, and makes a particular feature of his chapter on Land Tenure which he discusses in considerable detail. On other aspects of tribal life, too, his book is well-balanced and contains lucid accounts regarding kinship, industries, initiations, marriage, and religion in all its aspects.

There are, however, two implications in this book which are most provocative and cannot pass unchallenged.

First there is the assumption that “anthropology begins at home,” an assumption supported by Malinowski; with its corollary that a member of the tribe or nation is better fitted than a stranger to describe and deduce from the life of a people: the assumption that Kenyatta, because he is a Gikuyu, is better qualified than a European anthropologist to write an anthropological study of the Gikuyu. This is surely a false assumption. An Afrikaner could write a better, a more enlightening, account of the life of English-speaking South Africans than could one of themselves; a Japanese account of English or other European customs and attitudes would be far more valuable than any introspective study could possibly be—except perhaps to the psychologist. After reading Kenyatta's book,

I find nothing recorded there that could not have been recorded by a European trained researcher, who has studied the people; and for the very reason that the book is written by a Gikuyu, it lacks rightful emphasis upon those things which are peculiarly Gikuyu, the result being that it reads flat; it would probably be less so however if written in the Gikuyu language instead of English.

The second point to be challenged is the right of the author of an anthropological book to introduce "political" feeling into his work to the extent to which Kenyatta has done. The Africans have much to complain of regarding the way they have been treated in the past by European nations, and regarding the present-day disabilities and repressions under which they suffer, and it is only to be hoped that the European conscience will really awaken, and better, more Christian, relations be the result; but an anthropological study is not the place for political agitation. The tone of the author's complaints also is open severely to criticism. Without distinction he attacks Missionaries, who in the main have shown the highest type of sincere self-sacrifice for a great ideal and a disinterested attempt to bring light into dark places. But Kenyatta thinks fit to defend such a deplorable practice as that of clitoridectomy, and to sneer at the Missionaries for condemning it. He similarly decries Western education, going out of his way to try to convince that the Native education received by boys and girls is all that is necessary to fit them for their life, over-looking the changing conditions of to-day; yet he himself profits by a Western education to write such a book as this!

The picture he would leave with us, is that the untouched Gikuyu was the height of perfection and that Gikuyu institutions, manners and customs were nothing but praiseworthy and impossible of improvement.

Africa is going through a time of institutional upheaval, and we can have the deepest sympathy for the feelings and outlook of such a man as Kenyatta, who with a European education sees how helpless, inarticulate and repressed his people are. It is a pity, though, that he did not give this picture of his people unclouded by these feelings which so constantly surge up.

C.M.D.

Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa. Memorandum XV of, and published by the Oxford University Press for, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, pp. xxxviii + 105. 1938. 2/6.

This Memorandum consists of seven articles on the study of culture contact in Africa, reprinted from recent volumes of *Africa*, with a preface

by Dr. L. P. Mair, the editor of the series, and an introductory essay by Professor Malinowski. The study was inspired by discussions on the subject at seminars under the guidance of Professor Malinowski and it derives special significance from its close association with the Five Year Plan of Research of the Institute, which has brought the study of culture contact to the forefront as a branch of Anthropology. All the contributors have had extensive field experience.

Each contributor draws upon his individual observations in the field, but little use has been made of the different conditions of contact as a basis for suggesting methods of approach or technique. The lack of any plan has inevitably produced a rather disjointed series, in which there is not only repetition without perceptible advance in argument but also little correlation between the various points of view. The Memorandum, nevertheless, is admirably held together by the introductory essay and the inherent interest of its predominant aim : to present culture contact as a new branch of Anthropology, calling for the study of new types of problems and a new orientation in research technique. This conception envisages the creation of an applied science which shall serve as a practical guide to those, such as the administrator, the missionary, the employer and the teacher, who are directly concerned with the problems of culture change. The authors of the series, still struggling for orientation and adjustment to the requirements of a new outlook, have not succeeded in presenting a systematic methodology for the investigation of the new Anthropology. They have, however, succeeded in awakening interest in a field which promises to revolutionise Social Anthropology.

As functionalists, the contributors are at the very outset paradoxically forced to admit the paramount importance of historical inquiry. It has always been a cardinal principle of functional Anthropology that the study of pedigree, of historical development, if not wholly invalid, is at all events irrelevant in cultural interpretation. Yet the study of culture change appears to demand some reconstruction of the past with a view to discovering a criterion from which the direction and nature of change might be estimated. Dr. Mair, convinced of the dangers of reconstruction as well as of its barrenness for purposes of interpretation, nevertheless concedes that the "pathological" condition of society in periods of transition can be understood only in terms of contrast with the normal. Dr. Hunter, faced with the difficulties of applying the functional method to a society which is a mixture of partially fused elements derived from different parent cultures, is compelled to make some reconstruction of the past which enables her to understand the present meaning of these elements. Dr. Schapera goes further and insists that the historical

method is indispensable not merely for reconstructing the past but also for understanding the factors and causes of change. Implicit in the method of both the Culwicks and of Dr. Richards is the recognition of the value of some kind or other of history. Dr. Wagner also considers it necessary to obtain as concise a picture as possible of Native culture prior to contact; for even an outline of the history of the contact process will throw light on present-day conditions.

Dr. Fortes dissents from this view, firstly because reconstruction is impossible and secondly because, from the functional point of view, the contact situation must be studied as an integral whole. As culture agents, such as the European resident, are regarded not as entities with their own culture determinism but as an integral part of the community, there can be little difficulty in applying the functional method to the present dynamic aspect of culture contact. But, as Malinowski points out, functionalism in its simple form is based on two presuppositions, namely, that there is one culture, and that it is in a state of well-balanced equilibrium. These presuppositions do not apply in Africa; only by ignoring the presence of change can this approach be adopted. To secure the conditions necessary for the exploitation of the functional method in its simple form one must thus initially deny the existence of the very aspect of culture that one sets out to study.

Does this mean that functionalism is unable to cope with the complexities of the African contact situation? Professor Malinowski, in his critical assessment of the arguments contained in the seven essays, addresses himself to this question. The escape from the dilemma that functionalism in its simple form is based on presuppositions which exclude the only possible approach to the study of culture contact, lies in "a more complicated type of the same method in which the mutual relations and functional variations of the dependent factors is studied, not within one culture, but with regard to three mutually dependent phases" (European, Native and changing). Here the main purpose is not the study of the present against the hypothetical background of a reconstructed past but the discovery of the nature and function of surviving institutions and the process of their adaptation to meet the new strains imposed by contact. In his view the new Anthropology can legitimately be concerned only with an analysis of the present working of a changing society. This follows inevitably from his conception of the irrelevancy of a reconstructed past for the study of culture change. The past reconstructed must be distinguished, he says, from tribal traditions still alive in institutions, memory or legend. The forces which foster or retard change are forces of tradition actively influencing the sentiments

of living men and women ; and from the practical point of view it is thus with them that we must be concerned. That is true. But if some kind of historical reconstruction is permissible, as Professor Malinowski admits, at least one has some criterion by which to gauge the direction and mechanism of change. For change is not all a matter of values ; culture complexes, culture patterns, an accompanying mechanism, play their part in cultural determinism. Form and function are no doubt interdependent, but the study of changes in form must not for that reason be neglected. And this, apart from the suggestiveness of, and perspective gained by, historical study is ample justification for making verifiable reconstructions.

If the main purpose of the series is considered to be the search for a new methodology, the results must be regarded as negative. Fortunately it has served a more useful purpose in another direction. For the study of culture contact has forced the functionalist to re-examine basic principles and has considerably broadened his outlook. Even if the validity or value of historical reconstruction is not admitted, he can no longer leave out of account the conditions and processes of culture diffusion or ignore the importance of comparative investigation. This study of culture contact also provides a corrective to the predominantly mechanical view of diffusion that often characterises the work of the historical school. A revaluation and reconciliation of the methods and points of view of the two schools do not seem very distant.

J. D. KRIGE.

YAO AND NYANJA TALES

Collected by the late DUFF MACDONALD

On going through the papers left by the late Professor Alice Werner, her sister, Miss Mary Werner, came upon a manuscript of folk-tales prepared by the late Rev. Duff Macdonald, M.A., B.D., evidently as a supplement to his well-known publication *Africana*.¹ Consultation with Dr. A. Hetherwick and the Rev. T. Cullen Young established the value of these tales as containing several never heard today, and resulted in the MS. being submitted to us for publication. On receipt of the MS. we followed Dr. Hetherwick's advice, and sent it to the Rev. E. D. Bowman of the Jeanes Training Centre, Zomba, Nyasaland, for his expert opinion. Mr. Bowman very kindly made a thorough examination. He found Macdonald's Yao section almost perfect, but submitted a few minor corrections. The Nyanja texts, however, were found to be in a less satisfactory state, and these Mr. Bowman retyped and submitted to us in the approved orthography. We are very grateful to him for this.

The Yao texts should add valuable material, as very little publication of Yao tales has hitherto been undertaken. The English translations Macdonald had altered and revised several times, and it is evident that he would have made further revision upon the text before publishing, had he had the opportunity. The corrections to the Yao stories submitted by Mr. Bowman have been inserted in the text, the original readings being indicated in each case in footnotes.

The alteration found necessary to the Nyanja text is illustrated in the following comparison.

(a) Macdonald's MS. :

Panali mamuna, anali n'agalu ache anai, akugwila nyama nimo zuwa lina mamuna amene anali ni njala yambiri nimo anauza mkaz' ache, nati, "Ine nding' ka ntengo ndikape nyama." Nimo mkaz' ache anati, "Inde muka, ukape nyama, mamun' anga." Nimo mamuna anatenga agalu ache ni ntungo zache nang' ka mtengo. Nimo pamene anasaka, napa nsenji zisanu. Ni msanga msanga unaza mkango, nanena ni mamuna nati, "Iwe tenga nyama izi, upase agalu ako, adye. Nimo akata kudya nimo iwe udye agalu ako, na ine ndidye iwe."

¹ *Africana* ; or *The Heart of Heathen Africa*, 2 vols, 1882. The MS. was headed "Appendix to Vol. II of *Africana*."

(b) Bowman's revision in approved orthography :

Panali mwamuna amene anali ndi agaru anai ogwira nyama. Dzuwa lina mwamuna anali ndi njala nati kwa mkazace, Ine ndinka kuthengo ndikaphe nyama. Mkazi nayanka, Inde muka, ukaphe nyama mwamuna wanga. Mwamuna anatenga agaru ace ndi ntungo zace nanka kuthengo. Pamene anasaka anapha ncenzi zisanu, ndipo mwamsanga-msanga unaturukira mkango nunena kwa mwamunayo, Iwe tenga nyamazi upatse agaru ako adye, ndipo akadya, iwe udye agaruwo tsono ine ndidya iwe.

C. M. DOKE,
Joint Editor, *Bantu Studies*.

A

YAO TEXTS

MCHIMWENE JUA KUWA'JO NI MPWAO

Wapali juamchimwene watawile musi wakwe wokulungwa, nipo wachulwiche achambumba nipo wakwete mpwao ne juangajenda kwa ka mchimwene juakwe. Nipo wakwasile juamchimwene aju nipo warwile, nipo wasigele mpwakwe nipo wajawile kukwinjila lina. Nipo jatisile ngondo ja jikulungwa kuti' atole achambumba 'wala. Nipo wa ku musi watawile msanga wao wa mbweso.

Nipo waiche wa ngondo nipo wateme pa nganya nipo walingwile ku nganya. Nipo watite, "Wandu wachulwiche tingausye kwa ka mchimwene ku malembe ku msati." Nipo wajawile nipo wagombile myala, nipo mchimwene jua kuwa' jo nipo wamtagulile nipo watite, "Umweju, kalakala mwalesile kwisa ndili jua mjumi, lero chichi mbweni?" Nipo watite, 'A! uneji mchimwene, nambo mbweni wandu, nambo wandu wachulwi-che ali ku musi' ko, nipo ndite "Tingausye kwa ka mchimwe-ne," nipo watite, "Jendani, mkakomasye." Nipo wajawile ku kwakomasya nipo watite, "Ku chilambo 'ko nambo syasogwele mbogo syasijinji syakutawa msanga." Nipo wa ngondo watite, "Juakukomala kwakujinji, 'uakumanyilila mboga sya msanga."

Nipo wausile wa ngondo nipo wajawile ku mangwao, nipo wamsinganile mchimwene jua ku mangwao, lina liakwe Namanjelele. Nipo watite, "Mchimwene mlowele kwakujinji: Aju juakukomala kwakujinji." Nipo Watite, "Nambo jaulani soni mkatanjile ngondo, mkujigale wakongwe wosepe." Nipo jajawile soni, jajawije nipo wakamwile achambumba wosepe. Nipo msyene juakwe ne watisile. Nipo soni wajawile ku malembe nipo watite, "Achimwene nyisile achambumba wangu: wajigele¹ ngondo wosepe'wo." Nipo wampele misaku jakwe mcheche ja minandi nipo wachite, "Nambo ngondo kagulani ku musi kwao," Nipo wachite, "Musimane mtela wokulungwa, mkagopole wine msaku wonandi."

Nipo wajigele nipo wausimene mtela wokulungwa wamsiwile nipo wagopwele nipo chatiosile chipukusu nipo chajinjile mumtela ne kumemena ne kuwa lipesa ne kupita mchimwene ni mundu jwakwe. Nipo wakagwile soni mu japite ngondo nipo wamsiwile soni liganga paujo pakwe, nipo wagopwele soni wine msaku nipo jakopweche mbawe nipo wapite ni mundu jwakwe papopo, nipo wakagwile soni makumbo ga wa ngondo, nipo paujo pakwe

¹ or wajigelwe.

THE DEAD CHIEF AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHER

There was a chief that built his village large, and he had many women and he had a younger brother who did not come to his chief. The chief became ill and died, his brother was left and went to inherit the title. Then arose a great war in order to capture those women. The (new) village-chief had tied up bundles of beans.

And the people that wanted war came and sat in the forum and he hid himself and peered at them as they sat there. Then he said, "These people are many, I will consult the chief at the grave." So he went and clapped his hands and told the chief who was dead. The latter said, "It is long since you visited me when I was alive, what is the matter now?" He replied, "Alas! O chief, I have seen enemies, yea many are at the village (here), and I said 'I will go to ask of the chief.'" The latter said, "Go and salute these people." Then he went to salute them and the people that wanted war said, "In this land many plants have yielded fruit which are tied in bundles." So they said to themselves, "He (the chief) is a very wise¹ man, and knows about a relish stored in bundles."

They returned and went home and met the king of their own home who was called Manjelele, and said, "O King, you are very stupid. That man is exceedingly wise."¹ He said, "Nonsense—go away again, capture in war all the women and bring them." Then the army went back and caught all the women. The chief himself also ran away, and again he went to the grave and said (to his dead brother), "Chief, I have come on account of my women, they are all carried off by war." Then his brother gave him four small bags and said, "Well, follow the army to their village," and he added "Should you find a large tree, unloose one little bag."

So he took them, and he found the large tree put in his way and he opened, and a wood-moth came forth and entered the tree and gnawed, and a passage was made and the chief passed through with his attendant. Again he followed on in the track of the army, and he found that a stone had been put in his way farther on, and he opened another bag and there came out a manis (*mbawe*) and dug under the stone; and he passed through

wajisinganile nyasa wa ngondo wapite mungalawa.² Nipo wagopwele soni nipo luatiosile³ lundandambuli nipo luajawile lisi line nipo wajombweche ni mundu jwakwe nipo waiche pa musu pakwe po, po jaumile ngondo, nipo watemi kwikomo kukulinda kuswa. Nipo kwaswele. Nipo msaku wine wagopwele soni, nipo liajawile likoswe ku musu kwakwe 'ko nipo lijile mumtungwi.⁴ Nipo liagonile mmomo.⁵ nipo mchimwene wajile ku gona, msyene jua ngondo. Po wagonile nipo watiosisye meso gakwe nipo warwisile mumtungwi,⁴ nipo likoswe lijigele meso gakwe ga kamchimwene.

Nipo kwachele, nipo warwilasile achanda nipo atite "Wosepe asongane ni migole jao, nalole." Nipo achachanda wasongene nipo atite "Ne kamtagulile mchimwene, ajise kulola migole jakwe." Nipo mchimwene waiche nipo watosile chitengu (cha) kutamila. Nipo warwilasisye meso gakwe kuti, "Katoleni meso mumtungwi,"⁴ nipo walolesisye mumtungwi⁴ nipo walolite kuti⁶ meso gakwe gangamugwa.⁷ Nipo walisile mchimwene kuti "Ndole ni chi migole?" Nipo ajuju juwajimi⁸ mwisi lusulo, nipo wutite, "Wandu wangu mbutje narwo. None ndanjile⁹ ngondo, namkagwile, meso ga mchimwene nyigele." Nipo walisile kuti, "Achachanda mkapeleche wandu wakwe." Nipo achachanda wakwe wamtagulile kuti, "Twaluwile kuti mchimwene, tukajenda kutanjile ngondo. Lolani wandu tauje, wangelola meso," nipo wauchisye wandu wosepe. Nipo (wa ku malembe) wachite, "Nimtagulile kuti kagulani ngondo. Lolani wandu wosepe ausile."

Ajokole chitolo.

MCHIMWENE WALIMILE KU MALEMBE 'WALA

Wapali juam kongwe juana mwanache juamnandi, nipo walimaga mgunda wa ku malembe, nipo kaiche kamundu ka ku malembe kaChamlele. Nipo wakongwe wasosa ga kulima nipo wagopolaga mwanache nipo wawelesye mchisichi. Nipo atiosile Chamlele kuti "Kuwelesya chisichi na mundu mbali!" nipo wamjigele mwanache 'ju nipo wamjigalile ku malembe. Nipo

² Original text reads *mwigalawa*.

³ " " " *watwisile*.

⁴ " " " *mitungwi*.

⁵ " " " *amomo*.

⁶ " " " *walotele*.

⁷ " " " *gangakugwa*.

⁸ " " " *ajime*.

⁹ *Andanjile* would be "I have been captured."

with his attendant. Again he followed the tracks of the army, and beyond that he found the river, which the army had passed in a boat. Then he opened (the third bag) and there came forth a spider and went to the other side, and he crossed with his attendant and arrived at the village whence the war had come, and he sat down at the road to the village to wait till dark came out. As soon as it was dark, he opened the other bag also, and a rat set off for that village and went to a basket, and it slept there. By and by the king that had begun the war, came to sleep, and on going to sleep he took away his eyes and put them in the basket, and the rat took the king's eyes.

At dawn he called his men and said "Let all assemble with their captives, that I may see them." The men assembled and said, "Now tell the king to come to see his prisoners." The king came and took a chair to sit on and called for his eyes saying, "Fetch my eyes from the basket," and they looked in the basket and found that his eyes were not there. The king cried saying "What shall I see my prisoners with?" The other chief stood across the stream and said "Let me go back with my people. I have also captured in war. I followed you. The eyes of the king I have carried off." And the king cried saying, "My men, give up his people." Then his men said to him, "We told you, O King, that we must not go yonder to capture in war. Lo! the people will return without being seen with your eyes," and they restored all the people. Then the chief at the grave said, "I told you to follow the army. Lo! all the people have returned."

The end (literally Take the shrew off the fire (it is cooked now)).

THE CHIEF THAT HOED AT THE GRAVES

There was a woman that had a little child, and she hoed a garden at the graves, and there came a little man from the graves—little Amlele. The woman wished to hoe and she loosed the child, and made the stump of a tree bear him (tied him to a tree). Then rose Amlele and said "to make the stump bear him rather than a person's sides" and he took care

walimile nipo wasakaliche msyene. Nekuti, "Sambano timbilasye mwana-
ngu," Nipo wawilasile kuti, "Chamlele, mkambe mwanangu." Nipo
wampele msyene mchikulugwe. Nipo wajawile ku musi nipo nganasala kuti,
"Uneje ngulima ku malembe nambo kwana lisoka liakulela mwanangu."
Nipo soni wajile kundawi kukulima. Akawene ka Chamlele kaiche soni ;
soni watandite kuwilasya mwanache 'ju. Soni wajawile n'ajo ku malembe
nipo wamtumbwile msaku nipo wamtasile msanga wa mesi. Nipo juamko-
ngwe walimile nipo wasakaliche soni, nipo wawilasile nipo walepele, juanga-
jisa n'ajo soni.

Nipo wajawile kuwilanga ku musi kuti, "Ne wanangu wajawile n'ajo
ku malembe iuangauja n'ajo." Nipo wautwiche nipo wasiganile atamiche
pa msanga nipo wakuswiche msanga. Nipo wandu wausile ku malembe kuja
ku musi achililaga. Nipo wajawile kwisango, chisango chakwe cha Linye-
nyeu. Nipo wanandwiye lilowe liakwe pakuwecheta nipo liatite, "Nambo
mchimwene ne juakusosa kutumala pa chilambo." Watisile wandu wosepe
ligongo usawi. Chisango chikamwile mchimwene jwa musi ligongo liakwe
walimile ku malembe, nipo walosile usawi mwanache juakwe kuti alyeje
Chamlele. Nipo watite mchimwene, "Nambo uneji sigele jika." Nipo
watite, "Timbanje uganja kwa nganga," nipo wapanjile. Nipo watite,
"Jaula, ulokote masuku gamajinji ne mbinji syakwe, nipo ukagone pelambo
pangali mtela." Nipo walokotele ngalala likumi, nipo watite "Kamiseni
posepe," nipo wamisile pelambo liosepe. Msyene juakwe wagonile chilikati
chelambo. Kundawi kwakwe ne kwimuka ; nipo wasinganile majumba
gamajinji : masuku gasyuchile wandu.

Nipo wakolojele ukana kuti "Sambano nuwene wine musi" Nipo
wambilasile nganga kuti, "Ambusanga, kwende sambano wandu wajinji."
Nipo walongene (ni nganga ni Simwe) kukung'wa ukana. Nipo watite,
"Nambo umweju ambusanga lekani kuwecheta wamba, wandu tachimtojima."
Nipo wangwele ukana nipo wakolekwe Simwe ukana nipo watite, "Uneji
mchimwene, wandu wangune'wa, nalokwete masuku ngalala likumi : nipo
namisile pelambo, nipo masuku gasandwiche wandu." Nipo ambusanga
gwao waundwiche kuti, "Gasakele malowe gao, ngatama ni wandu." Nipo
wagonile soni nipo wajimwiche, wandu wakwe wangapagwa kuti kututenda
masuku, nipo waliji jikape.

Nipo wawete lipende lia ngwime (jagona pesugulu) kumbona mundu nipo
kwawilangaga, watite, "Ugwejo no usejelele," mundu no kutila. Patisile
mundu no watite, "Uneji sakele ngundama ni wandu ajangu."

of the child and carried him to the graves. Then she hoed till she was tired. And she said, "Now I will call for my child," and she called for him saying, "Amlele, give me my child." And he gave him to the mother herself. Then she went to the village but did not tell that she hoed at the graves and that there was a spirit nursing her child. When she went on the morrow to hoe, she saw that little Amlele was come again; again he began to call for the child. Again he went with him to the graves, and cut open his skin and put him in the sand (beside the water.) And the woman hoed and was tired again and she called Amlele without success. He did not bring back the child again.

And she went to call (those) at the village, saying, "My son was carried away to the graves by one that did not come back with him." Then the people ran and went to the graves there, and they found him put down in the sand, and they cleaned off the sand. And returned from the graves to the village mourning. And they went away to the oracle of the "Humble-bee," and he spoke with a low voice, and said, "But the chief is the man that wants to destroy us out of the country." All the people ran away because of witchcraft. The oracle has caught the chief of the village, because he hoed at the graves and bewitched his child in order that Amlele should eat it. The chief said, "Now I am left alone, I will make friendship with the guinea-fowl," and he did so. And he said, "Go away, pick up many *masukus* and their stones and sleep in a plain without trees." It picked for him ten baskets and he said, "Sow everywhere," and it sowed in the whole plain. He himself slept in the middle of the plain. Next day he awoke and found many houses, the *masukus* had become men.

Then he brewed beer saying, "Now I have found another village." And he called the guinea-fowl saying "Friend come now, there are many people." And they went together (the guinea-fowl and Simwe) to drink beer. And it said, "But do you my friend leave off speaking evil, lest the people be startled at you." Then they drank beer and Simwe became drunk and said, "I am the chief, these are my own people. I picked up ten baskets of *masukus*, I sowed in the plain, and the *masukus* became men." Then his friend ran away from him saying, "His words are bad, he cannot stay with people." So he slept again and he awoke—his people were not, because (said they) he takes us for *masukus*. So he was alone.

Then he clothed himself with the skin of a civet (*ngwime*) (a creature which sleeps on an ant-hill) and whenever he saw a person he called him, saying, "You there! come near," and the person ran away. When the person ran away, he said "I am bad. I cannot stay with my fellow men."

Nipo watiokaga kwendajenda mwitini lialikulungwa. Kuusya musi nipo wajitichisye tolo (lipuku lienandi) nipo watite, "Ugweji tuende ku mangwetu, tukatame. Ndawile likome lia maganga." Nipo walongene; alole mundu likome liakwe liangalumbana; litanga liakwe mitwe ja mbeu. Nipo watite, "E! umweju kunambusya, mwisya wamnono kupita une!" Nipo (Simwe) watite, "Tingakutolele Cingalwe." Nipo wamjigalile mjakwe kuti "Umweju unami wa ujinji—kutawanya—kumlambusya mchimwene," kuti "Kwende, tukajinjile kwikome lia maganga uchambaga mwisya wa unandi nambo ugwe ngukula." Tolo nambo wamlwesile Cingalwe kuti "Nogwe nambo ngutagaluka litala, nogwe tuwe," nipo Cingalwe watagalwice litala nipo wawile.

SYA MANI

Wapali walume lina liakwe Che Kasonga nipo waluchile nyao syao nipo wachite, "Kwende mani."

Nipo wajawile n'achachanda wao, nipo waluwene lusajo lwakwe lua nyama nipo walulondite, nipo luajinjile petinji, nipo watejele nyao, nekuti, "Asyungule sambano, akasakule." Nipo wasakwile nipo jatanjile nyama, nipo ajikamwile, nipo wawilasisye mkalo kuti, "Umweju kuntupe mkalo, tusichitele nyama," nipo wajisichite pa lukosi nipo wachite, "Akateme malambo." Nipo watandiche pasi, nipo wasajiche pa mlambo nipo watumbwile nyama 'jo. Nipo wachite, "Sambano apaculanye iwalo," nipo wapaculanye mikono. Nipo wachite, "Sambano ateleche mitima ku nganya 'ko," nipo wateleche. Nipo wapaculanye chiiga chakwe, nipo wachite, "Ajigale chiiga, akapeleche ku msinda." Nipo atosile msiene jwa chilambo nekuti, "Mtesile ichenene, mumbele nyama." Nipo wajinjile ku nyumba nipo ajatola¹⁰ ligolwa ne kumpa juauleje nyama, nipo wamtagulile, "Sambano mkaulaje jine, mkajise kumpa."

Nipo wajigele nyao soni kwaula mikuli, nipo nyama jaumbwiche, nipo wajiutwisye, nipo jatanjile m' luao. Nipo wasyungwile wandu, nipo wajisijile pa lukosi mkalo. Nipo watumbwile nyama 'jo jangulungwa, lina liakwe mbalapi. Nipo wachite, "Lelo tusichite chilikatipe," nipo wajisichite chilikati nye. Nipo wachite, "Sambano akateme mpiko," nipo wapichile nyama 'jo, nipo wapitaga achimbilaga, kuja ku msinda, kwa msyene chilambo.

¹⁰ A rare formation, watosile is regular.

Then he went away journeying in the great bush. He asked for a village and the *tolo* (a small mole) responded and said, "Come to my home and dwell there. I have built a stone-house." So he accompanied (the *tolo*); let the man look at its house! it is not good! its door is the heads of cockroaches! And he said, "Ay! you deceiver of me: I enter a small hole!" And Simwe said "I will bring the *Cingalwe* against you." And he brought against him his friend (the *Cingalwe*) who said "You are a great liar—a rascal—a deceiver of the chief," saying to him "Come let us enter a stone-house which was just a little hole, but may you never thrive." But the *tolo* cursed the *Cingalwe* saying, "But may you never cross the road except you die," and the *Cingalwe* crossed the road and died. (As the Natives believe strongly in charms we need not wonder that they invoke a sorcerer to curse their enemies, in the same way as did Balak the son of Zippor.)

A STORY OF HUNTING

There was a man called Kasonga and he plaited his nets and said, "Let us go to the chase."

And he went away with his young men and they saw the foot-print of buck and tracked it, and it entered the bush, and he set the nets and said, "Come round now hunt it!" So they hunted and the buck was snared, and they caught it, and they called for a knife, saying, "You there give us a knife that we may cut the buck, and they cut its throat and they said, "Cut down branches," and they spread on the ground and placed it above the branches² and cut up the buck. They said, "Now cut off the legs," so they cut off the fore-legs. They said, "Now let them cook the heart at the village green," so they cooked it. Then they cut a hind-leg of it, and they said, "Carry the hind-leg to present at the capital." Then came the owner of the country and said, "You have done well in giving me the meat." Then he went in to the house and brought eight yards, and gave to him that had killed the buck and said to him, "Now kill another and come to give."

Again they took their nets to go away to the moors, and a buck was started, and they gave chase to it and it was caught in the net. And the people surrounded it and they cut its throat with a knife. Then they cut it up, it was a large buck called *mbalapi*. They said, "To-day let us cut it in the middle," and they cut it in the middle. They said, "Now let us cut a pole," and they put the meat on a pole and passed on singing to go to the capital—to the owner of the country.

² *Malambo* is the place where a buck is cut, it is made up of branches.

Nekutioka juine mchanda kuti, "N' apilikane, kwitala kwakwimbila." Ne kutioka msiene mchimwene nekuti, "Akwele peganga'po walole wakwimbila"¹¹ 'wo." Nipo wachite jueleju "Wa nyama wewala". Nekuti, "Elo, atesile ichenene." Achachanda wa mchimwene wajawile kukupochela nipo waiche n'ajo ku musi ne kutola misanjo no kwala pasi, nipo watosile nyama ne kuwika penani (pa) misanjo. Nipo waluwile msyene, mchimwene kuti "Akawilanje asono wangu wakulungwa." Nipo waiche nilukalala luakwe ni wanandi nipo wapeleganisye nyama'jo. Chalumo n'achachanda wao nipo wapeleganisye misese jakwe.

Nipo kwaulangana majumba mwao kuti "Jimasile"¹³ sambano kwetu-pwilingane," nipo wamalile.¹⁴

Nipo mchimwene wajawile kusyeto kwakwe, wakupileka nyama nipo wausile. Po walangene wachite, "Lelo nginimpa kandu, tingambe kulya ja lulele, som chiulaga jine malawi, sinjimpa wonga. Nipo wausile achachanda wauleje nyama awa, nipo wachite, "Atole chiwiga," nipo wateleche mitima ja nyama, ni mapupu ni matoga, nipo wapelegenye nipo walile. Wajimiche uti pa mlango, mpo watasile mesi mchiwiga, nipo wasongene wosepe, nipo wanawaga mesi 'go, kujaga kamula utijo, wosepe'wo.

Po watosile petala, wajiuleje jine nyama, po watumbulaga atemitemi wajinji. Nyama'jo watawilile penani litondolo lia ngoji, nipo wajigoneche pasi. Nipo chaiche chisuwi nipo chakamwile mundu, nipo wachite, "Chisuwi chikamwile mundu." Ajile akalule ku musi nipo walalikene wajinji nipo wachite, "Achilonde lusajo." Nipo achilondite mu chapite, nipo wachisi-mene chagonile, nipo wachite, "Achalume, akangamale, chisuwi 'chila." Nipo wachisomile nipo wachijigele ne kuja kuchijocha pa moto kuti, "Jueleju msawi."

LISIMBA NI LITUNU

Litunu liakwete lukowo luejinji¹⁵ nipo liatite, "Line liuwa kuulaga nyama Lisimba." Nipo liwice Litunu, nipo liatite, "Mchimwene, mbuni nyama." Nipo wampele. Kundawi kwakwe ne kuja soni. Lisimba nipo liakanile kuti, "Liso nampele, lelo nganompa."

¹¹ Original text reads *wakwimbila*.

¹² " " " *Akawalanje*.

¹³ " " " *Jimisile*.

¹⁴ " " " *wamalwile*

¹⁵ " " *luajinji*.

Then came one lad and said, "Listen, on the path there is singing." Then came the chief himself and said, "Get up on that stone and see those that are singing there." He said, "They are with meat." He said, "Yes, they have done well." The young men of the chief went off to help with it and they came with it to the village and fetched posts and put them down and took the meat and put above the posts. The chief himself gave orders saying, "Call my principal wife." Then she came with her basket and the junior wives, and the meat was divided. In the same way his young men got the slices also divided among them.

Then they went to their several houses saying, "It is done now, let us go away," so they dispersed.

Then the chief went to his harem, and the presenters of the meat returned. When they said farewell, he said, "To-day I do not give you anything, I will just eat it as a present, if you kill more to-morrow, I will give you powder." So the young men that had killed the buck returned, and they said, "Bring a pot," and they cooked the heart of the buck and the lungs and the liver and divided and ate. They set up their guns at the door and put water in a pot and they came altogether, then they all washed their hands in the water, and went to take their guns, the whole of them.

When they set out on the way, they killed another buck, when they were cutting it up, many were sitting. They tied the buck up with a binding of ropes and lay down. Then came a leopard and caught a man and they said, "A leopard has caught a man." They went to inform at the village and many turned out and said, "Track it by its foot(print). Then they tracked it on the way that it had passed, and found it asleep and they said, "Men make haste, there's the leopard." They shot it and carried it to burn at a fire, saying, "This is a cannibal" (*msawi*).

THE LION AND THE HYENA

A Hyena had a great appetite and said, "One day the Lion kills meat." Then came the hyena and said, "Give me meat, O chief." And he gave him. Next day he went again. The Lion refused saying, "Yesterday I gave you, to-day I do not give you."

Nipo walitumile likakaka kuti, "Jendani mkaliwilanje Litunu, tulitende chipongwe," nipo wajiwilasile ndandala. Nipo ndandala wajikwesisye mtela wa chilikati cha mesi, ndo chiwilili chajile mmesi. Nipo waliwilasile Litunu nipo watite, "Kwende tukatole nyama jiwilile pa lusulo." Nipo liaiche Litunu nipo wamlanjile kuti, "Mchimwene nijiwene nyama jiwile pa lusulo." Nipo watite, "Twende, chuulani nyama jenu jiwilile apa." Nipo wajimi pa njengwe, nipo liagwile mmesi kukamula nyama jakwe nipo wakamwile matope. Nipo watite, "Mchimwene umweju kususukwa kwakujinji."

Kujilepela nyama, Litunu nipo lijikwite mesi. Nipo liawile. Nipo Lisimba liatite, "Nyama jangu tindyeye jika namsyene."

LISIMBA NI CHISUWI

A lisimba wakwete chilambo, Chisuzwi wakwete chao chilambo ; Lisimba ne kola alambi wao, nembe A chisuzwi ne kola wao alambi. Nipo atosile Lisimba nipo ajile kukamula alambi wa chisuzwi, nipo wakuyiye makumbo ne kwasimana atilile peganga. A chisuzwi ne kwasonechela masajo. A chisuzwi mkuti, "Ajende, nipo ausimene mlimba akoleche m'nyumba. Nekuti, "Ana juejula mwanangu 'jula?" nipo wagwasile kuja kumlolechesya mwanagwao'jo. nekuti, "Wani akamwile mwanangu"—kwausya lisimba. A Lisimba nekuti "Ngendili 'ne nimkamwile." Nombe chisuzwi nekuti, "Aloleje iyoyo. Tingakamule mwanagwao lisimba."

Ne kuja kumkamula, ne kutilila n'ajo muntela. Nekuti, "Akuye¹⁶ makumbo" nipo wakuyiye ne kusimana atilile muntela. Nipo watite, "Mawanangu mwelemo ajile;" kuti, "Lolani penuni." ne kutuluka chisuzwi ne kwatona meso ne kutila. Lisimba ne kuja kwa 'chajao, kuti "Kwekula andonile meso."

Chisuzwi atilile mu mbanga nipo liaiche liguluwe ; Chisuzwi nekuti, "Wani welewo?" Nekuti, "Une A liguluwe." Nipo wakamwile, wachite, "Ankawa aluwile Lisimba kuti akagule," nipo watumbwile. Nipo gakuyiye¹⁷ maguluwe gane kuti, "Tukalole kwawilile mjetu." Mkuti aciikaga petala, ne kuijigana inangwa, nipo ujwaga kuti sala : nipo wagombebe uti acimsyene inangwa 'yo. Nekuti, "Mosemo Lisimba ni Chisuzwi atuulesye."

¹⁶ Original text reads *Akwiye*.

¹⁷ " " " *gakuwiye*.

Then he sent the civet(?) saying, "Go call the Hyena, that we may play a trick on him," and he called the deer. The deer climbed a tree in the middle of the water, and his shadow fell on the water. Then they called the Hyena and said, "Come let us fetch the beast that died at the stream." Then came the Hyena and they shewed him saying, "O chief, I have seen the beast that has died at the stream." They said, "Let us go, fetch it out, it is your meat that has died for you here." So he stood on the brink and fell into the water to catch his meat, and he caught mud. And they said, "O chief, you are very greedy."

The Hyena got no meat but he got enough of water and died. And the Lion said, "I will eat my meat alone by myself."

THE LION AND THE LEOPARD

The Lion had a country, the Leopard had his country: the Lion had his subjects while the Leopard had his. Then arose the Lion and went to catch the subjects of the Leopard, the latter followed and found that he had run to a stone. So the Leopard missed his foot-prints. The Leopard said, "Let me go," and he found the skin hung up in a house. He said, "Is this that child of mine," and he went secretly to inspect that child of his and he said, "Who caught my child?"—asking the Lion. The Lion said, "It was not I that caught it." But the Leopard said, "So take care I will catch a child of the Lion's."

And he went to catch one and ran with it to a tree. The other said, "Follow the tracks," so he followed and found that he had run for a tree. And he said, "My son has gone there;" he said, "Let me look up," then down came the Leopard and scratched him in the face and ran away. Then the Lion went to his friends, saying, "There he scratched me in the face."

The Leopard ran to a cave, then came the Pig; the Leopard said, "Who's that?" He said, "I, the Pig." Then he caught him, he said, "Doubtless the Lion told him to follow me," and he cut him open. Then other pigs followed saying, "Let us see where our friend died." On coming on the road, they found *cassava* and they stole, saying, "hunger": then the owner of the *cassava* shot them with a gun. Then they said, "In every way the Lion and the Leopard have caused us to be slain."

SUNGULA NI LITUNU

Che Litunu wapangene uganja, mtondo ne kutioka nekuti, "Ambi mchanda nongane najo." Nekuti, "Alongane ni che Kapendu" (kana mawala ga manandi mpelaga ga njusi).

Ne kwendaga mwitala, Litunu nekuti, "Na twasimane achambumba achisukaga msokolo wa mapemba, umwe somkajuje mesi, une singajuje msokolo." Po wajendaga ne kwasimana achambumba alimkusuka msokolo, nekuti, "Une njao mesi." Che Litunu nekuti, "Une njao msokolo." Ne kutola achambumba m'mbale msokolo kwapa che Litunu, ne kwapa Kapendu mesi mgao. Pakuti, "Kwende tusuche ujolowe, tutaune," Che Litunu ne kana nekuti, "Chichi nginimjula wenu," ne kutauna jikapi kumjima mchanda.

Paujo ne kuwa mkutagulila soni kuti, "Na twasimane achambumba achitemaga milungu umwe simkajuje makwemba, une singajuje milungu, situkatawile. Paujo ne kwenda ne kwasimana achambumba alimkutema milungu. Che Litunu nekuti, "Une njao milungu 'jo." Che Mbendu nekuti, "Une njao makwemba 'ga." Ne kutema milungu mcheche ne kwapa Che Litunu ne kutola makwemba ne kwapa Che Mbendu. Che Mbendu nekuti "Tutawe." Che Litunu nipo wagombile ukali, "A! ja 'cheni," ne kumjima.

No kupunda pelepo, ne kuja pane ne kulisimana litanda, nekuti, "Ku musu ku tukuja 'ko. Na kutujila ugali na kutawa lisamba na sompikane petand'apo lino-lino-lino-lino-lino, simponye lisamba lia ugali." Paujo pakwe Litunu nekuti, "Au mtela, na kuwona ugali somkajise kusola."

Ne kwaula ne kwika pa musu pa 'mbusanga wao, nekuti, "Aiche ambusanga," nipo wauleje nguku ne kuteleka ne kuuga ugali nekuti, "Aka-peleche kwa 'lendo," ne kwisa kutamika pasi; ne kutanda Litunu, "Katole mtela-ula tulile ugali o." Kapendu ne kupita mchiutuka. Panyuma pakwe Che Litunu ne kutema masamba kutandika-tandika, ne kulyalyalya ugali 'wo. Amba po waiche Che Kapendu nipo wachite, "Waiche wajinji, mlote masamba 'ga, apa wateme wane, apa wateme wane, apa wateme wane."

THE FOX AND THE HYENA

The Hyena made friendship, two days after, he set out and he said, "But let an attendant go with me." They said, "Let him go with the Mbendu (a creature with little spots like the Njusi.)"³

They were going along the road and the Hyena said, "If we meet with women washing grains of millet, you will ask for water, and I shall ask for millet." As they went on they met the women washing the millet and the Mbendu said, "Give me water," while the Hyena said, "Give me millet." The women took millet in a plate to give the Hyena, and they gave the Mbendu water in a cup. The latter, said, "Come let us wash it that it may become soft," but the Hyena refused and said, "Why did you not beg your own for yourself?" and he chewed it alone without giving to his attendant.

Farther on he began to tell him again saying, "If we meet with the women cutting sugar cane, you will beg the leaves, I shall beg the (sugar) canes, we shall tie them up." They went forward and met with the women cutting sugar cane. The Hyena said, "Give me the canes," the Mbendu said "Give me the leaves." They cut four canes and gave the hyena, and they took leaves and gave the Mbendu. The Mbendu said, "Let us tie them." The Hyena was fierce and said, "Ah! for whom?" and did not give him.

And they went beyond that and came to another place and found a lake and he said, "The village we go to is there. If we have porridge cooked for us and tie it up in a leaf, then if you hear at the lake *lino-lino-lino-lino-lino* you ought to run away and throw the leaf of porridge." Farther on the Hyena said, "This is medicine, if we get porridge, you will come to dig it."

They went away and arrived at the village of his friend and the latter said, "My friend has come, and he killed fowls, and cooked, and made porridge and said, "Let us give the strangers," and porridge was put down: when the Hyena began, "Bring that medicine that we may eat it to the porridge." The Mbendu went off running. After that the Hyena cut leaves to set down everywhere and he ate up all the porridge. When the Mbendu returned, he said, "There came a great party, look at the leaves (which were used as plates), here sat some, here sat others, here sat others."

³ Parenthetical remark made by the narrator.

Litunu wachite, "Tujaleje ku mangwetu malawi." Che Kapendu wachite, "Elo, tujaleje," Che Kapendu wagandile. Kundawi kwakwe ne kwaujila ugali, n'achite, "Tawani wosepe, tawani masamba." Che Kapendu ne kutawatawa ugali ne kujigala. Petala Litunu wachite, "Timbite¹⁸ amo, tukasimane paujo." Che Kapendu wapitaga mwitalape¹⁹; Che Litunu wajile petanda 'po ne kutiwila ne koposya pakamwa nekuti, "Lino-lino-lino-lino-lino!" Che Kapendu wajogwepe ne kuponya lisamba lia ugali, Che Litunu ne kuchuuka ne kuja kulyalyalya. P'ajile paujo ne kumsimana Kapendu nganakola cha kujigala. Wambusisye kuti, "Mponisye lisamba lila?" Wachite, "Eee, mkalamwiche, cingamlumile²⁰ cikoko.²¹ Ne kuuja kwika²² ku musi, wakumusi wachite, "Kuganda, Che Kapendu, kuganda!" Wachite, "I! sala."

Mowa msano kugona pa mangwao. Che Litunu wachite, "Tinyaule soni kwa 'mbusanga. Nongane n'ajo mcheni lelo?" Nipo wakanile Che Kapendu, nipo wachite "Kwe tulongane Che Sungula." Che Sungula nekuti, "Elo, kwende mchimwene." Nipo walongene.

Waiche petala, Che Litunu watagulile magambo, "Umwe Che Sungula na kwasimana achambumba simkajuje mesi, une singajuje msokolo." Nipo waiche kwa'chambumba. Che Litunu nekuti, "Mjao msokolo," Che Sungula nekuti "Mjao ni msokolo 'wo ni mesi gakwe." Che Litunu watosile msokolo ne kwapa mbale, Che Sungula nombe nao watosile msokolo ne kwapa magasa ni mesi gakwe mgao. Litunu nekuti, "Mesi 'galaga kwape Che Litunu." Che Sungula nekuti, "Chichi ngonujujila wako msokolo?" Nipo wamsilile kumpa.

Paujo pakwe nekuti Che Litunu, "Nambo litanda ali kogoya." Nambo Che Sungula wausisye, "Ana kogoya chichi." Che Litunu wachite, "Na kujigala ugali, kogoya chikoko." Kasungula nekuti, "Kasichiti uli pakutongola?" Che Litunu nekuti, "Kasichite lino-lino-lino-lino-lino." Che Sungula wachite, "Ea." Wachite Che Litunu, "Na simjigale lisamba liaugali,²³ simponye." Nekuti, "Ee." Wapundile ne kuja paujo, nekuti, "Au mtela o, na kuuga ugali ku musi, somchijisa kusola." Nambo Kasungula walesile mpamba, wajile paujo wachite, "Ambuje, ndiwalile

¹⁸ Original text reads *Timpit'*.

¹⁹ " " " *mwitalipe*.

²⁰ " " " *lingamlumile*.

²¹ " " " *likoko*.

²² *Ne kuuja musi* = they returned from the village.

²³ Original text reads *liogali*.

The Hyena said, "Let us go home to-morrow." The Mbendu said, "Yes, let us go," the Mbendu was starving. Next day there was porridge cooked for them, and he said, "Tie it all up, tie it in leaves." The Mbendu tied up the porridge and carried it. On the way the Hyena said, "I will pass this way, let us meet farther on." The Mbendu kept going just on the path; the Hyena went to the pool and dived, and put out his mouth and said, "*Lino-lino-lino-lino-lino!*" The Mbendu was afraid and threw the leaf with the porridge (into the lake). The Hyena took it out and went to devour it. When he came farther on he met with the Mbendu who had nothing to carry. He asked him saying, "You have thrown away that leaf? Quite right! you were wise, the wild beast would have bitten you." When they reached their home the villagers said, "You are thin, Mbendu, you are thin!" He said, "*Umph!* hunger."

They stayed five days at home. The Hyena said, "I will go to my friends again. Who shall I go with to-day?" Then the Mbendu refused and he said, "Come, Fox,⁴ let us go together." The Fox said, "Yes, chief, come." So they went together.

When arrived at the road, the Hyena gave instructions, "You, Fox, if we meet with women—you will beg water, I will beg grain." They came to the women. The Hyena said, "Give me grain." The Fox said "Give me grain and the water also." The Hyena took grain and it was given him on a plate, the Fox also took grain and it was given him in his hands, and water also in a cup. The Hyena said, "Give the Hyena that water." The Fox said, "Why did you not beg your own?" Then the Fox refused to give him.

Farther on the Hyena said, "Now this pool is dreadful." The fox asked, "Why is it dreadful?" The Hyena said, "If one carry porridge a wild beast is dreadful." The fox said, "How does it say when roaring?" The Hyena said, "It says *Lino-lino-lino-lino.*" The fox said, "Ay!" The Hyena said, "If you carry a leaf with porridge you should throw it down." He said, "Yes." They advanced and came farther on and he said, "This is medicine, if porridge is cooked at the village you will come to dig it." But the fox left his arrow, he went farther on and said,

⁴ The original is Rabbit or Hare.

mpamba 'ula." N'achite, "Ana kwapi?" Nekuti, "Po munanjileje mtela 'pala." Wachite, "Katoleni." Jualakwe sungula kupita mchiutuka ne kwika pa mtela pa walesile mpamba ne kuwa mkusola ne kutaga msaku mtela o, nekuwa mkuuja. Nekuti. "Ana mlokwete?" Nekuti "Ee ndokwete." Nekuti "Sambano kwende."

Ne kuwa mkwaula ne kwika. Ambusanga wao wachite, "Aiche ambusanga. Waulajile nguku." Ne kwaulajila nguku, ugali wakwe ne kuuga ne kwika nao ne kutamika. Che Litunu nekutanda kuti, "Mkasose mtela 'ula." Nambo Kasungula watosile mtela wakwe msaku nekuti, "Ambuje mteta 'ula au." Nambo Che Litunu wausile ukali, wachite "Umweju a Kasungula kalamuka wamba." Wasilile ugali, kuti, "Lyagani." Sungula nipo walile.

Wachite, "Tujauleje malawi." Ligulo wajiuleje nguku kuti alile ugali. Kundawi ne kuuga ugali ne nguku jakwe ne kwapa. Nekuti, "Che sungula, tawani." Che sungula nipo watawile, ne kwendaga mwitala. Wachiteje Che Litunu, "Longolelagani timbite ako, tutukasimane mbujo." Nambo Che Litunu wajesile ne kugwala ne kwika paujo ne kulilechela petanda, ne kutivila ne koposya pakamwa ne kwasama nekuti, "Lino-lino-lin-lino." Kasungula nekuti, "A! chelecho chikoko." Wateme Kasungula ne kutola kamaje kakwe ne kuwa mkusichita migoji ne kutola liganga ne gopola ugali o ne kulyalyalya, ne kumala lyelyelye pe, ne kusigasya mbamu ne kupakapaka mwiganga ne kuponya petanda pakamwa ne Che Litunu wawile. Sungula nipo wautwiche ne kwasichita mawe ne wasemile kagoma ni wawambilileje chipende cha Che Litunu: ne kwendaga mwitala ne kwasimana achambumba achisolaga njama. A sungula wagombile ngoma jao kuti, "Ti, ti, ngondo." Achambumba watisile, a sungula walokwete ngalala, wajawile ku mangwao.

Ku musi wachite, "Kwapi mwalesiie Che Litunu?" N'achite, "Twalesile alimkwakololela ukana." Wawene chakulonjelape morwa wangauja.

KULANGA MAJANI NI NDANDALA

Wapali juamlume walanjile majani, nembe juine kulanga ndandala, ne kupangana uganja. Asyene majani nekuti, "Ajise ku mangwetu, somgalole majani." Nipo waiche ku mangwao nipo agajiganile gatisile. Nekuti, "Ambusanga, gajile kwa?" Nekuti, "Gajile kulya." Nekuti, "Kaga-

"Master, I have forgotten that arrow." He said, "Where?" He said, "Where you showed me the medicine there." He said, "Fetch it." The fox went running and came to the medicine, where he had left his arrow and he dug and put the medicine in his bag, and returned. And he said, "Have you picked it (Your arrow) up?" He said, "Yes I have." And he said, "Well let us go on."

They went on and arrived. The Hyena's friend said, "My friend has come. Kill a fowl for him." They killed a fowl for him, and cooked porridge too and came with it and set it down. The Hyena then began saying, "Go and seek that medicine." But the Fox took the medicine out of his bag and said, "Master, this is that medicine." Then was the Hyena very fierce and said, "You, Fox, are clever at evil!" The Hyena refused his porridge saying, "You go on eating." So the fox ate.

The Hyena said, "Let us go away to-morrow." In the evening a fowl was killed that they might it eat to their porridge. Next day porridge was cooked and the fowl also and was given. He said, "Fox tie it up." The fox then tied it and they went along the road. The Hyena said, "Go on before me, I will go this way, we shall meet in front." Then the Hyena went stealthily and arrived in front and let himself down into the pool, and dived and put out his mouth wide open and said, "*Lino-lino-lino-lino*." The Fox said, "Ah! there's the wild beast." The Fox sat down and took his knife and commenced to cut the bark-cords (which tied the leaves) and he took a stone, then he unloosed the porridge, and ate and finished it entirely eating it up reserving only a mouthful which he plastered on the stone, and threw into the mouth at the pool, and the Hyena died. The Fox then ran and cut off his head, and made a little drum and covered it with the Hyena's skin: then he went along the road and met women digging beans. The fox beat his drum saying, "*Ti, ti, war*." The women fled,⁵ the fox picked up the baskets and went home.

At the village they said, "Where did you leave the Hyena?" And he said, "We left them brewing beer for him." They found that it was indeed a stay, the Hyena never returned.

TAMING MONKEYS AND BUCK

There was a man that tamed monkeys, while another tamed buck, and they became friends. The owner of the monkeys said, "Come to my home, you will see monkeys." Then he went to his home and found they had gone out. He said, "Friend where have they gone?" He

⁵ This would be the certain result.

wilanjani.” Nipo ajile gawilanga : nipo gaiche : nekuti “ Majani ’gala ’ga.” Nekuti, “ Ningawene, ningagalile nyama.” Majani nipo gapilikene. Nekuti, “ Ambusanga, mkawecheta iyoyo, tumgatisye majani gangu.” Nipo gatisile majani ’go.” Atite, “ Nomwe muiche ku mangwetu, somsilole nanjile ndandala.” Nipo wajawile nipo asijiganile ndandala nekuti, “ Nyama sya kumbajila kulya.” Ndandala nipo syatisile kuja mwitini. Nekuti, “ Nyama syangu msitisisye nomwe.” Nekuti, “ Umweju mkanyimbe magambo, kwende kunganya.” Nipo gaiche mapungu nipo wausisye “ Ana wani achitandite?” nipo wachite, “ Mgambe kulipana.” Nipo walipene ukana. Wakolojele nipo wawilanjile nipo wang’wele nipo watite, “ Magambo ’gala gamasile.” Nipo agambile kulisinga wanawose,

KULANGA MBWA

Chapali chilambo chan’ achalume. Achalume ’wa wajendaga mikuli ja ngungusi. Ajojo juana mbwa siakwe, pakuja ngulugulu litanda, ne kujikwipusya ngungusi, ngungusi ne kugwa petanda ; petanda ’po ne pana ngwena, nembe najo ne kulilechela papopo. Pakulilechela, ngwena’ jo ne kukumkamula, ne juangamlumaluma. Mbwa ’syo ne kususaga kumsosa mbujegwao : mbujegwao ’jo n’ambisile kumkapa. Nembe mbwa pakusosa, gane mowa ne kuja kunusya petaka, ne kumpilikana liungo liakwe. Mbwa ’syo ne kuwa mkusola petaka ’po, n po syasosile mowa gatatu. Liamcheche-’li ne kupowola pasi, mbujegwao ne kogopa soni pakuti alole. Nekuti, “ Syelesi mbwa siangu ’sila.” Alole kusa ngwe. “ Sambano mbwa siangu ’sila sipowe.” Nipo wakopweche, nipo wajile ku musi.

Wa ku musi walilaga malilo, ne mwana che juine pakuti asyungulile nyumba ne kwasimana, nipo wausile soni, nekuti, “ Amao no myalale mkalile, atati wangu nawene.” Achikulugwe nekuti, “ Ugwe ukwete unami, wesegwe wajasiche kalakala.” Nekuti, “ Amao ngwamba, kwende tukalole.”

Pakuti alongane n’ajo mwanache’ ju ne kwawona nekuti, “ Mwanache ngonukola unami,” ne kwakamula pa mkono asono wao, kuti, “ Kwende ku nyumba kwetu.” Nipo wachite, “ Nombalanje ku mwajile.” Nipo wachite “ Uneji najile mikuli, nasakulaga ngungusi, nipo jalilechele petanda, none nipo nalilechele papopo, nipo mbwa siangu siasosile ; nakopochele kusa pakuti mumboneje inoino. Sikawa mbwa siangu, ngwena singandile, mbwa ne siambone, wandu tulanjeje mbwa.” Nipo wandu wajijini wachite, “ Elo ! elo ! elo ! kwetukoleje mbwa. Che jono (chenyono) syakosisye umi mbwa syao.” Ni juali apala kusumaga mbwa. Ni pati wandu akoleje mbwa sianyinji, ligongo kuti syamsosile mbujegwao kumkapa.

said, "They have gone to feed." He said, "Call them." He went to call them and they came : and he said, "These are my monkeys," and the other said, "If I had seen them, I should have taken them for food." (The monkeys heard this). He said, "Friend don't say so, you will make my monkeys run away." Thereupon the monkeys did run away. The stranger said, "Come you to my home, you will see buck that I have tamed." He went and found the buck and said, "These are meat to give me to eat?" The buck ran away to go to the bush. His friend said, "You have made my buck run away." He said, "You come and answer my accusation, let us go to the forum." Then the judges came and asked "Who began it?" then they decided, "You must just pay each other." So they paid each other in beer. They brewed, and invited each other and drank and said, "That case is finished." Then both were contented.

TAMING DOGS

There was a land with a man. This man used to go to the moors of marsh pigs (?). When this man with his dogs was going near a lake, they started a marsh pig, and it fell into the lake : the man also went down there. In the lake was a crocodile, and the crocodile caught him, without biting him. The dogs kept searching much for their master : their master was placed in a cavern. Now the dogs in their search sometimes went to smell the earth, and they scented him. The dogs then set to dig in the earth there, and they dug three days. On the fourth they penetrated down and their master was afraid again when he saw (light). But soon he said, "These are my dogs." Let him look out, it is all right ! "Now my dogs have penetrated !" And he went out and went to the village.

The villagers were mourning, and one child on going round the house met him and returned again, and said, "Mother, be quiet, don't cry, I saw my father." Its mother said, "You lie, your father was lost long ago." It said, "Mother no, come, let us go to see."

When she went along with the child she saw him, and said "Child you don't lie," and she caught her husband by the arm, saying "Come to my house." And she said, "Explain where you went." He said, "I went to the moors. I was hunting a marsh pig and it sank in a pond ; I also sank there, and my dogs sought me ; I came out, so that you see me here. Had it not been my dogs, the crocodiles would have eaten me. Dogs are good. People should keep dogs. Then many people said, "Yes, yes, yes, let us get dogs. That man's dogs saved his life." And each one there was buying dogs, each one there was buying dogs. Then people got many dogs because they had dug their master from the cavern.

SYA MANGWETU

Akunokuno nginikuwa ku mangwetu. Twateme' kalakala ku Mango-chi, litumbi lialikulungwa mpelaga Zomba. Walolo wateme mwisi Lujenda, litala lia ku Chisanga. Walolo wakamulaga Machinga kwaula nawo ku Chisanga asumeje nguo. Walolo chisongolo, winji uti. Machinga gateme ku Mandimbi, Walolo nipo watisisye. Machinga nipo gaiche Kuyao, Wayao ne kutila, nekuti, "Tukasame." Nipo twasamile akoko no kwendaga mwitala no kututanda Wanyasa ne kutusoma mpamba, nowe ne kutanda ngondo, ne kwasumula yakulya.

Angelesi wateme ni Wanyasa. Wanyasa nekuti, "Mtukamusye," ne kutanda ngondo ja Angelesi. Wosepe 'wala wajisile ku Ulumba. Angelesi ne kuwalanga kalata 'si ne kupopera Mulungu. Liurwa alyolyo Wayao ne kutila balala, ne kuuja ne kusimana ni Machinga galimkukagula ku nyuma. Nipo gachite, "Chichi mkuujila?" Wachite, "Nambo tusimene n' Asungu." Machinga nipo gateme akoko, nganapunda. Panyuma pakwe Wanyasa wosepe ne kutila pesi, Wayao ne kutama chilambo acino.

Wayao wakwete aimwene wajinji wanachisongolo. Juine Machinga gambleje.²⁴ malindi: wane nipo watandite kusuma achiwana wao ne kusigala jikape, wandu wao waundwiche; wane gauleje Mangoni. Ngondo kusakala jikumala wandu. Jaiche sala nekuti, "Sambano kwe tukalimeje." Ne kulima yakulya yejinji.

Magololo galongene ni Angelesi. Po waiche pa chiko'po, nipo walesile, nekuti, "Sambano msiowekane, ngondo kusakala ni jilecheni, mjende chalumo ni Wayao." Ne kukoposya nkalata sya Mulungu, nipo wajitichisye wosepe. Angelesi nekuti, "Sambano mbite ku mangwetu."

Panyuma apa ne kwika Mangoni, gajombweche mwingalawa,²⁵ gaiche ni ngondo. Wayao nipo watilile Ndilande. Wanyasa nipo watilile mu isi wakwete isi winji. Machinga gane gatilile m' Zomba. Walolo nganatila. Po akanatuluche m' matumbi watisile 'wala, soni ne kwika Angelesi ne kutama chilambo 'chino, nipo Mangoni gajawile. Wandu ne kutuluka m' matumbi ne kulima soni.

²⁴ Original text reads *gambleje*.

²⁵ Original text reads *mwigalawa*.

ON OUR HOME

Here is not our home. We lived long ago at Mangochi, a large hill like Zomba. The Walolo lived on the other side of the (river) Lujenda, on the road to Chisanga. The Walolo were capturing the Machinga to carry them to Chisanga and exchange them for cloth. The Walolo were brave, and had many guns. The Machinga dwelt at Mandimbi, and the Walolo made them flee. So the Machinga came to the country of the Wayao, and the Wayao fled. We removed from that place, and went along the road, and the Wanyasa interfered with us, and pierced us with arrows, and we began war and took their food from them.

The English lived with the Wanyasa. The Wanyasa said, "Help us," and there began war with the English. They all came to Ulumba. The English read the book and prayed to God. On that day the Wayao fled in all directions, and they returned and found the Machinga following behind them. They said, "Why do you turn back?" They said, "Why, we have encountered White men!" Then the Machinga stayed there, without advancing farther. After this all the Wanyasa fled across the river, and the Wayao settled in this land.

The Wayao had many fierce chiefs. The Machinga killed one by treachery, some began to sell their own people and were left alone, their people ran away from them; another was killed by the Mangoni. War is an evil, it destroys people; there came famine. After that people said, "Now let us go and hoe." They hoed much food.

The Magololo accompanied the English. When the English reached their boat they left them and said, "Now, be friends, war is bad, so leave it off, agree with the Wayao." The Book of God was brought forth and all assented. The English said, "Now let us go home."

After this the Mangoni came, they crossed by boat, they came in war. The Wayao ran to Ndilande. The Wanyasa ran to the islands. They have many islands. The Machinga ran to Zomba. The Walolo did not run away. Before those that fled had come down from the mountains, the English came and settled in this land, and the Mangoni went away. The people came down from the mountains and farmed again.

B

NYANJA TEXTS

KALIKALANJE

Kunali mkazi amene anali ndi mwamuna wace, ananka kukalima kumunda ndipo mwamuna wace anayetsemula ndipo mkaziyo anati, Gwigwi-gwi! Mwamuna namfunsa nati, Ufuna ciani? Mkazi anayankha, Ine ndifuna mazira a Mpupupu. Ndipo mwamuna anati, Ine ndifuna madzi osalira cule. Atatha kupangana mwamuna ananka kukafuna mazira a Mpupupu. Anatenga asanu napatsa mkazace ndipo mkazi ananka kukafuna madzi osalira cule.

Anakafika kutari, nawapeza madziwo koma mwini wace, Namzimu, anali pompo namfunsa mkaziyo, Ufuna ciani? Mkazi anayankha, Ndifuna madzi osalira cule. Ndimu Namzimu anati, Malonda ace nciani? Mkazi napangana naye nati. Ine ndiri ndi mimba, ndikabala mwana ndikuninkha iwe. Tsono Namzimu anati, Tunga madzi.

Atatha kutunga ananka kumudzi napatsa mwamuna wace madziwo ndipo mwamuna anati, Cabwino mkazanga.

Patsogolo pace Namzimu anadza kwa mkazi nati, Patse mwana ndidye. Ndipo mkazi anati, Sanabadwe mwana. Namzimu anacoka, ndipo patapita masiku atatu mwana anabadwa. Pamene mkazi analikukazinga nsatsi mwanayo analumpha nanka m'phale nati, Ndine Kalikalanje. Anaturuka m'phalemo ali ndi uta, ndi ntungo ndi agaru anai [nati, Ndikusaka. Napita pamodzi ndi agaru ace.

Kalikalanje akali kuuzimba kuja, Namzimu anabweranso kwa mkazi nadzati. Patseni mwana ndidye. Mkazi namuuzza kuti, Kalikalanje wapita kukasaka ndi agaru ace, koma abwera posacedwa. Ndipo mkazi anabisa Namzimu pacindu nati, Akafika Kalikalanje ndimtuma kukalimbita pacindu ndipo akakwera, umgwire.

Pamene Kalikalanje anabwera kunyumba mkaziyo anati, Mwananga kwera pacindu ukapalimbitse. Koma Kalikalanje anati. Ine sindikwera pacindu posabvina munthu.] Tsono mkazi anauza Namzimu kuti abvine pacindupo, cifukwa anafuna kunyenga mwana wace. Namzimu anabvina ndipo pamene Kalikalanje anamva anati, Sa! nciani cikubvina pamenepo? Ine sindifuna tsopano kukwera pacindu pomwe pali kubvina, nathawa, ndipo Namzimu sanamgwire usiku umenewo.

KALIKALANJE

There was a woman who had a husband, and they went to hoe in the garden and the man sneezed, and the woman said, "What do you want?" The woman said, "I want the eggs of an ostrich." The man said, "I want water where frogs do not croak." They both assented to the bargain. The man went to seek the eggs of an ostrich and brought five, and gave his wife. The woman went to seek water where frogs did not croak.

She went far, far away and found water. At that water she met with Namzimu, the owner, who asked, "What do you want?" The woman replied, "I want water where frogs croak not." Namzimu said, "What do you give in exchange for it." The woman bargained with Namzimu saying, "I am with child: when I bear the child I will give it to you." Then Namzimu said "Draw water."

So she drew water, and went to the village and gave her husband. The husband said, "That is right, my wife."

After this, Namzimu went to the woman's, and said, "Give me the child to eat." The woman said, "No, the child is not born." Then Namzimu went away. There passed three days and the child was born, and the woman was roasting¹ castor-oil beans, and the child leapt on the potsherd and said, "I am Kalikalanje." He went from the potsherd with his bow and his spear and his four dogs,

woman told Namzimu saying, "Dance on the roof there," (because the woman wished to cheat her son). When Namzimu danced, Kalikalanje however stood at the door and said, "Ho! what's that dancing there? I don't want to climb now on the roof where there is dancing." Then Kalikalanje ran away and Namzimu did not catch him that night.

¹ The word for roast in Chiyao is *kalanga*, hence the name *Kalikalanje*.

M'mawa mwace mkazi anatenga Namzimu kunka naye kumunda nabisa m'maudzu nati, Iwe khala pano, madzulo ano ndimtuma Kalikalanje kuti adzakundike maudzu, ndipo iwe ukaona mwana wometedwa kumodzi ndi wobvala nsalu yakuda udziwa kuti ameneyo ndiye Kalikalanje. Madzulo mkazi anameta Kalikalanje kumodzi nambveka nsaru yakuda namtuma kumunda kuti akakundike maudzu. Kalikalanje anatenga mpeni wace wometera ndi nsaru yakuda ndi agaru ace ndi ntungo yace naitana anzace nati, Tiyeni kumunda kwa mai wanga, tikasewere. Ndipo pofika pamphambano panjira Kalikalanje anati, Bwerani ndikumeteni kumodzi kuti tidzisewera bwino. Atatha kuwameta anawabveka anzace onse nsaru zakuda nawauza onse kuti maina ao akhale Kalikalanje. Nati, Tikakundikira maudzu, onse anene, Kalikalanje, Kalikalanje! Anzace anabvomera kuti nzabwino.

Atafika kumunda anakundika maudzu nawaoca, ndipo onse pamodzi anati, Kolikalanje, Kalikalanje, Kalikalanje. Ndipo pamene kuanafika maudzu akulu Kalikalanje anati, Tiyeni tioce maudzu awa, ndipo tigwire mauta athu m'manja. Msangamsanga Namzimu anaturuka pa maudzu ndipo Kalikalanje anauza anzace kuti amuphe. Conco anapha Namzimu ndi mauta ao.

Pamene Kalikalanje anabwerera kumudzi anapeza mai wace nati, Amai inu munafuna kundidyetsa kwa cirombo, isopano ine ndikuphani inu. Ndipo anapha amace.

MWAMUNA NDI MKANGO

Panali mwamuna amene anali ndi agaru anai ogwira nyama. Dzuwa lina mwamuna anali ndi njala nati kwa mkazace, Ine ndinka kuthengo ndikaphe nyama. Mkazi nayanka, Inde muka, ukaphe nyama mwamuna wanga. Mwamuna anatenga agaru ace ndi ntungo zace nanka kuthengo. Pamene anasaka anapha ncenzi zisanu, ndipo mwamsanga-msanga unaturukira Mkango nunena kwa mwamunayo, Iwe tenga nyamazi upatse agaru ako adye, ndipo akadya, iwe udye agaruwo tsono ine ndidya iwe. Koma mwamuna anati. Iai! Ine sindifuna kupatsa nyama zanga kwa agaru. Ndipo pamene mwamuna ndi Mkango anakangana kwambiri.

Mwa dzidzidzi panaturukira kalulu ndi thumba lace, nawapeza alikukan-gana nati, Mukanganirani? Ndipo mwamuna anafotokozera kalulu cimene iwo akukanganira nati, Ife tikukanganira nyama imene ine ndagwira ndi agaru anga. Ndipo kalulu anafunsa Mkango nati, Kodi iwe ufuna kudyeranji mnzako wopanda cifukwa? Mkango unayankha kuti, Cifukwa

Next day the woman took Namzimu and went with him to the garden and hid him in the grass and said, "Stay you here, this night I send Kalikalanje to come to burn grass and you will see one with his head shaved on one side and wearing a black loin cloth. That is Kalikalanje." That night the woman shaved Kalikalanje on one side of the head, and put on him black cloth and sent him to the garden and said, "Go, burn the grass in the garden." So Kalikalanje took his shaving knife and black cloth, and his dogs and his spear and called his companions and said, "Come to the garden of my mother, to play." When they came to the parting of the roads, Kalikalanje told his friends saying, "Come, let me shave your hair on one side, that we may play properly." When he had shaved his companions' heads, he put on them pieces of black cloth, and said, "You all—your names are Kalikalanje, and we shall go to the garden, when we burn grass everyone is Kalikalanje, Kalikalanje." His comrades assented saying, "Very good !"

They came to the garden and burned the grass, and all of them said, "Kalikalanje, Kalikalanje, Kalikalanje." When they came to the large grass Kalikalanje said, "Let us all come, and burn this grass with fire, round and round, and let us hold our bows in our hands." Quickly Namzimu came out of the grass and Kalikalanje told his comrades saying, "Come let us kill him." So they killed Namzimu with the bows.

Then Kalikalanje returned to the village and met with his mother, and spoke to her, saying, "Mother you wanted a wild beast to eat me, now I kill you." So Kalikalanje killed his mother.

THE MAN AND THE LION

There was a man that had four dogs for catching meat, and one day the man was very hungry and he said to his wife, "I go to the bush to kill meat." His wife said, "Yes, go and kill meat, my husband." The man took his dogs and his spear and went to the bush. As he hunted, he killed five buck. Suddenly there came a Lion and spoke with the man and said, "Take these buck, give your dogs to eat. When they have eaten you must eat your dogs, then let me eat you." The man said, "No. I do not want to give my meat to the dogs." Whereupon there arose a great quarrel between the man and the Lion.

Suddenly there came a rabbit with his bag, and found them quarrelling. The rabbit asked them saying, "What are you quarrelling over?" The man explained to the rabbit the reason of their quarrelling saying, "We quarrel about meat that I have caught with my dogs." Then the rabbit spoke with the Lion saying, "Why do you want to eat your fellow-

cace ndico kuti thengo lino liri langa ndimo iye wadzaphamo nyama kwa agaru ace, ndipo agaru akadya nyama, iye adye agaruwo, tsono ine ndidya iye. Pamenepo kalulu anati kwa Mkango, Usadye mzako cifukwa ca nyama zace ; idza kuno ine ndikupatsa nyama yabwino imene ikhala m'mbuna. Kalulu analoza Mkango ku mbuna ya kasongo nati, Lowa m'mbunamo. Pamene Mkango unalowa, kalulu anaitana mwamunayo nati, Ikani moto. Uja anafuna kukudyani walowa m'mbuna, idzani timuphe. Ndipo kalulu ndi mwamuna anakoleza moto m'mbuna napha Mkango. Utafa Mkango mwamunayo ndi kalulu anapangana ubwenzi wosatha.

NJOBVU NDI KALULU

Njobvu ndi kalulu anapalana cibwenzi, napangana kulima minda yao, nalima. Kalulu anati. Koma tibzale mbeu zokazinga. Njobvu anabvo-mereza nati, Inde tikazinge. Anakazinga, koma kalulu ananyenga mnzace nabisa mbeu zace zina zosakazinga. Nati, Tiye tibzale. Njobvu anabzala mbeu zokazinga zokhazokha koma kalulu anabzala zosakazinga, nadya zokazinga zija.

Pamene mvula inadza mbeu za kalulu zinamera koma za Niobvu sizinamera, ndipo njobvu anafunsa kalulu kuti, Nanga mbeu zanga zimera liti ? Kalulu nayanka, Linda zimera.

M'munda mwa kalulu munabala maungu ambiri ndipo njobvu anaganiza, Bwenzi langa landinyenga. Ndipo Njobvu ananka usiku ku munda wa kalulu naba maungu. M'mawa kalulu anati, Kaya ndani waba maungu anga. Njobvu nati, Kaya.

Kalulu anasema ng'oma zace nazemba kunka kumunda kwace nalowa pamodzi ndi ng'oma zace m'dzungu latatao. Usiku Njobvu nadza, nadya maungu. M'mamawa kalulu amene anali m'mimba mwa njobvu anayamba kuliza ng'oma zace nati. Uja amatha maungu anga ndamgwira ndekha. Ndipo Njobvu anabvutika nafa.

Anthu anadza nati, Nyama yafera pano. Natumbula napeza dzungu nati, Taonani dzungu ili. Wina nanena, Ling'ambeni. Analing'amba napezamo kalulu. Pamene kalulu anaona anthu anathawa, ndipo anthu anati. Inde, Nkona Njobvu yafa.

creature without a reason against him. The Lion said, "The reason of it is that this bush is mine, and he has come to kill meat here. Now I want him to give this meat to his dogs, then his dogs will eat the meat, then he must eat his dogs, and I shall eat him." The rabbit said, "Lion you must not eat your fellow-creature because of his buck. Come here I shall give you good meat which is in a pitfall." The rabbit had seen a great pitfall where a serpent dwelt, and he said to the Lion, "Enter this pitfall." When the Lion entered the rabbit called the man and said, "Come with fire, now he who wanted to eat you has gone into a pit, now come and let us kill him." The rabbit and the man lighted a fire at the pit and killed the Lion. After the Lion died the man and the rabbit entered into a compact of eternal friendship.

THE ROASTED SEEDS

There was an Elephant and a rabbit that contracted friendship. They agreed saying, "Let us go and hoe our gardens;" so they hoed. Then the rabbit said, "But let us plant roasted seeds." The rabbit cheated the Elephant, and the Elephant assented, saying, "Yes we shall roast them," so he roasted. But the rabbit hid some of his seed, then he roasted a few and said, "Come let us plant," and the Elephant planted roasted seeds, but the rabbit planted seeds that were not roasted, and ate his roasted seeds.

The rain came, the seeds of the rabbit grew, but those of the Elephant did not grow, and he asked the Rabbit, "Well, when will my seed grow?" And the rabbit said, "Wait they will grow."

In the garden of the rabbit many pumpkins bore fruit, and the elephant said, "My friend has deceived me." Then the Elephant went to the garden of the rabbit at night to steal the rabbit's pumpkins. In the morning the rabbit said, "I wonder who has stolen my pumpkins." The Elephant said, "I do not know."

The rabbit made a drum and went secretly to his garden, and entered a large pumpkin¹ with his drum. At night the Elephant went and ate pumpkins. Next day the rabbit was in the stomach of the elephant, and he beat his drum, he beat and said, "You were finishing my pumpkins, I have caught you myself." Then the Elephant was very ill and died.

People came and said, "Meat has died for us here," and they opened the body and said, "Look at this pumpkin!" Others said, "Split it," and they split it—it broke—they found the rabbit. The rabbit on seeing people, ran away. And the people said, "Yes! this is what killed the Elephant. No wonder the Elephant died!"

ROMBAO

Panali mwamuna amene anali ndi mkazi wace ndipo tsiku lina anatenga mbedza yace kukawedza nsomba, nawedza yeikulu. Nsombayo inati, Lowa m'mimba mwanga, upeza mpeni ndi mbaza ya mapira; utenge udze nazo kuno. Mwamuna analowa m'mimba mwa nsomba natenga mpeni ndi mbaza naturuka nazo. Pamenepo nsomba inati, Dula mlomo wanga wapa-mwamba. Mwamuna nadula, ndipo nsomba inati, Tenga nyamayi upatse mkazi wako adye yekha, iwe udye mapirawa wekha.

Mwamunayo ananka kumudzi napatsa mkazace nyama ija nati, Mkazanga, nyamayi idya wekha ndipo ukadya mafupa utaye kutseri uko. Ndimu mwamuna ananka kutamanda nabvika mapira ace, atafewa anatafuna masiku asanu. Mkazi anadya nsomba ija masiku asanunso.

Pambuyo pace mkazi anabala ana awiri pamodzi ndi agaru ao awiri, ntungo zao ziwiri ndi mfuti zao ziwiri, ndipo maina ao anali Rombao ndi Antonyo. Anawo ananka kutengo kukasaka napeza mbalame ndi nsuala zambiri nayamba kuomba mfuti zao ndipo nyama zinathawira kumodzi. Pozitsata nyamazo anapeza mwini wace ndipo mwiniyo anati, Mufuna ciani?. Iwo nayanka nati, Ife tifuna nyama. Mwiniyo natinso, Mundi-patsa ciani ndikakupatsa nyama zanga? Anu aja anabvomera, Ife sitikuninkani kanthu koma tiyeni tilasane ndipo wopha mnzace atenga nyama zikhale zace.

Anamenyana, ndipo mwini wa nyama anafa ndipo anawo anatenga dzikolo likhale lao, namangapo nyumba nakhala pamenepo.

Tsiku lina Rombao anati kwa mpwace, Iwe tsala pano, ine ndinka uko kukapha nyama. Kumeneko anapeza nangumi ndipo pamene anafuna kumwa, nangumiyo anati, Umweranji madzi anga? Rombao nabvomera, Ine ndiri ndi ludzu, Nangumi nati, Lipira lipiro la madzi anga. Rombao anakana ndi kuti, Tiye timenyane. Anamenyana, nangumi nafa, ndipo Rombao anadula lilime lace nanka nalo kwace, naika mcere.

Kudziko limenelo kunali mfumu yocuka, mwini wa dziko, ndipo anatuma mwana wace, namwali, kuti akagule madzi ndi nangumi. Namwali anapeza nangumi atafa. Anapita masiku atatu popanda mphepo yomdzivitsa mfumu kuti mwana wace wadyiwa ndipo anatuma mbiri wace wa nkhondo

ROMBAO

There was a man who had a wife and he took his fish trap and went to the water to catch fish, and he caught a large one. The fish said to the man, "Go inside me and you will find a knife and a bundle of millet, fetch them and come here with them." So the man went inside the fish and found a knife and a bundle of millet and he fetched them and came with them. The fish said, "Cut off my upper lip," and the man cut it off. Then the fish said, "Take that meat, give it to your wife that she may eat it alone and do you eat the millet alone."

So he went to the village, he found his wife and gave her the meat saying, "My wife eat this meat alone. When you have eaten throw the bones of it out there." The man went to put the millet in the lake, when it became soft he went and ate it alone, for five days, and his wife ate the fish five days.

After this the woman bare two children with their two dogs and two spears and two guns, and their names were: the one Rombao and the other Antonyo. Then they went to the bush and found many birds and many buck and they began to fire their guns, and the buck ran to one place, and the children followed them. On their following there they met the owner, and he asked them saying "What do you want?" They said "We want meat." The owner said, "What do you give me, and I shall give you my meat?" They replied, "We will not give you anything, but come let us fight, and whoever dies, the meat belongs to him that killed him."

They began to fight and the owner of the meat died, and they took the land and built houses and settled there.

One day Rombao talked with his brother and said, "You stay here, I go yonder to kill meat." There he met with a Whale. He wanted to drink, and the Whale said, "Why should you drink my water?" Rombao said, "I am thirsty." The Whale said, "Pay me a price for my water." He refused and said, "Come let us fight." Then they began to fight and the Whale died, and Rombao cut off his tongue, and put salt on it.

Now at that land there was a celebrated chief, the owner of the country, and he gave up his own daughter to buy water from the Whale. The Whale was dead, and three days passed without the wind coming as a token (that the girl had been eaten). So the chief sent his captain and

¹ In some of the largest native pumpkins a rabbit might be concealed.

ndi asikari kukaona. Mbiri ananka ndi asikari ndipo pofikapo anapeza Nangumi atafa. Mbiri anati kwa asikari ace, Tiyezi tiombe mfuti masiku awiri, ndipo tikanka kumudzi tikanena kuti, Ine ndapha Nangumi, ndipo mfumu indipatsa mwana wace kukwata, ndimo ine ndikulipirani cuma cambiri. Asikari ace anabwomera. Inde nzabwino mwanenazo. Ndipo anaomba mfuti masiku awiri nabwerera kumudzi pamodzi ndi namwali.

Pofika kumudzi anapeza mfumu nati, Mbiri wapha Nangumi. Ndipo mfumu inati, Wacita bwino, ndikupatsa mwana wanga ukwate.

Pakufika dzuwa la ukwati Rombao anatuma mpwace kuti anke kuona za ukwati ndipo anabwerera nati kwa mkulu wace, Ukwati uja wapsya. Rombao ananka kumudzi kwa mfumu napeza anthu onse atasonkhana. Namwali anali cete osanena kanthu ndipo mai wace anamfunsa, Kodi ufuna kuti mbiri uyu akukwatire? Koma namwali sanayankhe, anangolira. Atate wace anati, Koma iwe ukwatidwa naye mbiri uyu. Pamenepo Rombao anafunsa kuti, Kodi mbiri akwatira uje cifukwa ciani? Ndimo iwo anati, Cifukwa wapha Nangumi. Koma Rombao anati, Nanga lilime la Nangumi lirikuti? Ndipo anthu onse anati, Inde, tifuna kuona lilime lace.

Mbiri inatuma asikari ace kuti akatenge lilime, koma pamene anayang'ana anapeza palibe lilime, nabwerera nati Nangumi alibe lilime, laola. Pamenepo Rombao anati, Kunama! Mbiri sanaphe Nangumi, ndinapha ndine. Lindani ndikatenge lilime lace. Ndipo anabwera ndi lilime kwa mfumu, ndipo mfumu inati, Wacita bwino, iwe utenge mwana wanga akhale mkazako. Ndipo mfumu inapatsa Rombao cuma cambiri. Mbiri ndi anthu ace onse anaphedwa.

his soldiers and said, "Go and see whether the Whale has come to eat my child." The captain went with his soldiers to see the Whale, and came to where it was and found it dead. Then the captain said to his soldiers "Come let us fire guns for two days and go to the village and tell that it was I that killed the whale. Then the chief will give me the daughter to wed, and I will pay you with much goods." They said, "Yes, it is good what he says." So they fired guns for two days and went back to the village with the girl.

At the village they found the chief and said, "The captain has killed the Whale." The chief said to him, "Very well, I will give you my daughter to wed."

When the marriage day came Rombao sent his younger brother saying, "Go and see the wedding." He returned and said, "The marriage-feast is ready." Then Rombao went to the village of the chief and found the people all assembled. The girl was speechless and her mother asked her, "Do you wish that captain to marry you." The girl did not answer, but continued weeping. Her father said, "But you will marry that captain." Rombao asked, "Why is the captain going to marry her?" They said, "Because he has killed the Whale." Rombao said, "But where's the tongue of the Whale?" All the people said, "Yes, we want to see its tongue."

So the captain sent his soldiers to bring its tongue, and they went to look for the tongue and found that the tongue was wanting. So they returned and said, "The Whale has not a tongue—it is rotten." Rombao said, "That's false, that captain did not kill the Whale—it was I. Wait now, I will go and fetch its tongue." He returned with the tongue to the chief. Then the chief said, "Very well, do you take my daughter to be your wife." Then the chief took much goods and gave Rombao. Then he killed that captain and his men likewise.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE SOUTHERN SOTHO¹

By E. H. ASHTON

The people whose political organisation is here described belong to the Southern cluster of the Sotho group of South Africa, and occupy the British Colony of Basutoland. They number a trifle over 660,000,² including the 100,000 men and women absent at any one time at the labour centres of the Union. Their country lies in the centre of the Union and is completely surrounded by three of its four provinces. It has an area of 11,716 square miles (about equal to that of Belgium), and of this about four-fifths is very mountainous, thus compelling the bulk of the population to concentrate in the lowlands, where the density is as great as any in rural South Africa.

For the most part the people live in large villages of fifty to a hundred families, closely grouped round the rock foothills, away from the arable valley-lands. Some tribes such as the BaTlokoa and BaFokeng of Voova live in smaller communities, and have their villages as scattered as the country and density of population permit. Like the rest of the South African Bantu, they are ordinary peasants, living partly on the produce of their limited lands, flocks and herds, and partly on money and goods, valued at about £400,000 p.a., acquired from employment in the Union.

The Sotho have long been in contact with Europeans. Traders and missionaries came to their country over a hundred years ago, the British administration was firmly established seventy years ago, and the men have been going out to work from even before that time.

History

The Sotho first arrived in their country in about 1600, when a few small tribes crossed the Drakensberg from what is now Natal, and settled

¹ This article is based mainly on data gathered during two month's private field-survey in 1934 and five months' fieldwork in 1935/6. The latter was made possible through a grant given by the Rhodes Trustees, to whose generosity I am deeply indebted. I also take this opportunity to thank Captain How, Government Secretary, Captain Kennan, and Mr. Armstrong, M.B.E., for a number of valuable suggestions.

² Census figures for 1936 are as follows :

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Population enumerated	238,705	320,568	559,273
Absent at labour centres	78,604	22,669	101,273
	317,309	343,237	660,546

in territory that was then unoccupied save for scattered groups of Bushmen. As time went on they were joined by kindred tribes who came from the Transvaal and gradually spread across the whole of the land between the Drakensberg, the Upper Orange River and the middle of what is now the Orange Free State.¹

So far as one can tell from their confused and scanty history, each of these tribes had its own recognised area where it lived, cultivated its lands and herded its animals; and, save for occasional cattle raids or punitive expeditions to avenge some insult or defeat, they all lived at peace with their neighbours. The nineteenth century, however, marked the beginnings of a change in their history, and the incidents which now began to crowd on them divorced them for ever from the traditions and placidity of the past.

There is no need to follow them in detail² through the events of the subsequent years, and here mention need be made of only two, relevant to the present discussion, namely (1) the *Lifaqane*³ wars, which broke up the old tribal system and led to the rise of Moshesh, father of the present Sotho nation, and (2) the advent of the British Government, which consolidated Moshesh's authority and permitted the full development of the administration which he founded.

On the East of the Drakensberg, Chaka, chief of the Zulu, who had perfected his military organisation and was spreading havoc and ruin to the North and South, finally directed his *impis* to the West. Thereupon the tribes living between him and the mountains fled across the Drakensberg in their frantic efforts to escape destruction, and tried to smash their way through the Sotho to peace and security beyond. Chaka's regiments followed them and in their turn pillaged and ravished whomsoever they met.

As a result of these invasions, the Sotho were thrown into complete confusion; tribe fell upon tribe, and the remnants of smashed groups sought refuge where they could. Famine broke out, and in their desperation many of the people turned to cannibalism. From out of this chaos, a

¹ Ellenberger & MacGregor: *History of the Basuto*, (London, 1912), p. 14.

² Those interested should consult Ellenberger and MacGregor: *History of the Basuto*, Sir Godfrey Lagden's *History of the Basuto*, Theal: *Basutoland Records* (3 vols.), and Sir Alan Pim's concise summary, *Report on Financial and Economic Position of Basutoland*, (Cmd. 4907, 1935) pp. 7-28.

³ The term *Lifaqane* is usually applied to the "state of migration and to the struggles of the wandering Sotho tribes, accompanied by their families, flocks and herds" (Ellenberger and MacGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 117) that resulted from the unprecedented series of wars that burst upon the Sotho about 1810.

young chieftain Moshesh gradually gathered round him fragments of the broken tribes, moulding them into a coherent fighting unit which he used not only to resist the enemy but also to force surviving but discordant Sotho tribes to unite. In 1831 he defeated the last of the Zulu raiders, Moselekatse, who later founded the famous Ndebele kingdom in Southern Rhodesia, and within a few years became the acknowledged overlord of practically all the local tribes. Only two, the BaPhuthi and the BaTlokoa, stood out, and it was not until many years later that they were finally subdued.

No sooner had the Zulu menace passed than the Sotho were threatened from another quarter. By 1840 the Boer trekkers from the Cape had already reached them and begun to settle in the thinly populated areas under their nominal control. Moshesh soon recognised that he would never be able to stand up against them alone, and so, advised by his missionaries who had joined him a few years earlier, he appealed to the Cape Government for protection. After heartbreaking setbacks—for he was accepted in 1848 and abandoned in 1854—he eventually gained his end when Basutoland was annexed by the British Government in 1868. He was just in time. Much fighting had taken place between the Sotho and the Boers, and much territory had been surrendered, and the Sotho were saved from complete subjection only by the timely arrival of the Secretary of State's despatch. The Boers protested against the annexation, but in vain, and the old warrior chief was able to die content, with his people "folded in the arms of the Queen."

Thereafter the fortunes of the country and of the dynasty founded by Moshesh continued to prosper. In 1871, Letsie (Moshesh's son and successor), together with other minor chiefs, successfully opposed a code which interfered with their tribal system and forbade several of their customs. Six years later, as a result of the defeat of the BaPhuthi by the Cape forces, Letsie was given the long sought for opportunity of bringing that tribe under his control. In 1880 the country was subjected to another war—the Gun War, fought to enforce the Disarmament Proclamation. But the chiefs managed to retrieve their position by shrewd diplomacy, and they secured the repeal of the offending Proclamation in 1883, when they signed what was at once a Treaty of Peace, a petition to remain British subjects under the direct government of the Queen instead of being subordinate to the Cape, and a pledge to "obey the laws and authority of Her Majesty's High Commissioner."

In February 1884, a Proclamation was issued empowering the High Commissioner "to make such laws as may appear to be necessary for the

peace, order and good government " of the territory ; and in May of that year he issued a Proclamation providing for the control of the chiefs in matters relating to their judicial functions. This law, however, was never enforced and the Governor's Agent, who had been appointed in March, adhered strictly to the instructions then given to him, namely, that " nothing should be attempted beyond the protection of life and property and the maintenance of order on the border " and that " the Basuto were to be encouraged to establish internal self-government sufficient to suppress crimes and settle intertribal disputes."

And here we may take our leave of Sotho history, for the spirit of the Agent's instructions has suffused the policy of the Administration ever since. There has been little interference with the administration of the chiefs, who on the contrary have been encouraged to develop their own political organisation. At first the British Administration went on the principle *divide et impera*, and attempted to support two of Letsie's brothers who had also been given political positions by Moshesh, but, finding that the peace could be better kept through one chief than three, it threw the main burden of internal administration on Letsie, actively supported his claim to paramountcy, and helped him consolidate his authority.

This rule through the Paramount Chief and subordinate chiefs has sometimes been cited as an example of " indirect rule," but this is not the case, as has been pointed out by Sir Alan Pim and others, if the term is used in its generally accepted meaning. For, as Miss Perham has succinctly put it, the policy of the Basutoland Administration has been a policy of " non-interference, of proffering alliance, of leaving two parallel Governments to work in a state of detachment unknown in tropical Africa, while under indirect rule Native institutions are incorporated into a single system of government and subjected to the continuous guidance, supervision and stimulus of officers." This statement implies however that the Basutoland Government has taken no part at all in the internal administration of the country. But such is not the case, for there has always been a regular system of consultation between the Government and the chiefs, not merely confined to important matters of policy. It simply means that the Government has tended to refrain from forcibly imposing its opinions, if the chiefs saw fit to differ from them. From the political point of view this has resulted in the chiefs' working out an interesting and remarkably strong and well-integrated political organisation of their own. As might be expected, it is not entirely without faults,¹ but these are now to be dealt with by legislation, shortly to be

¹ Pim, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 *et seq.*

issued, bringing the Native authorities, their appointment and functioning under the greater control of the Administration.

The Tribe

In the old days the Sotho were divided into independent groups called *lichaba* ("tribes.") These were close-knit units which owned or rather claimed exclusive possession of the land they occupied and used for hunting and pasturage, and whose members accepted the leadership of a single authority, the chief (*morena*). Some of them owed a vague allegiance to others, the seniority of whose chiefs they recognised, and whom they might feel obliged to assist in times of danger, but their internal administration and the control of their affairs remained in their own hands. Nowadays, however, owing to the disturbances of the *Lifaqane* period and of the many Sotho wars, which destroyed the cohesion of many of the tribes, and to the action of Moshesh and his successors, which checked their re-integration and even broke up some of the remaining tribal groups, these old political groups have ceased to play any great part in present-day Sotho organisation, and the old tribal organisation survives only through the BaTlokoa, who are still well organised and possess all of the old tribal features, and to a lesser extent the MaKhoakhoa, Voova's BaFokeng, and the BaTaung of Moletsane, and small tribal fragments, which form part of minor divisions in the present national system. The "tribe" has now been superseded by the "nation," subdivided into what are to a large extent artificial divisions bearing little relation to the old tribal organisation. But as it is still found in a few cases and as it forms a background to the present system, a brief description of its salient features may be given.

In the old days there were a score and more tribes in Basutoland. Chief among them were BaFokeng, BaHlakoana, BaKoena, BaPeli, BaPhuthi, BaSia, BaTaung, BaTlokoa, BaTlounge, MaKhoakhoa, MaPhuthing and MaPhetla.¹ Linguistically and culturally most of them were very similar, but they were distinguished by name and in many cases by totem and other minor peculiarities. Their composition is identical with that of the Tswana tribes described by Schapera.² "The nuclear stock of a tribe, the ruling community by whose name it is known, is generally composed of descendants of the people under whom the tribe first attained independent existence." According to tradition, most of the present Sotho tribes, both within and beyond Basutoland, are derived

¹ For details, see Ellenberger and MacGregor: *History of the Basuto*.

² *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Oxford, 1938), p.3. For many similarities between Tswana and Sotho, see chapters 1, 3 and 4 of this book.

from one common stock or from one common home. In course of time this parent stock broke into different groups, each of which again became subdivided into other separate tribes, each of which constituted an independent group under its own leader or chief. They sometimes retained their own name, sometimes took that of their leader, and sometimes called themselves after some incident connected with their break-away, or by some new totem they adopted. Ellenberger and MacGregor were able to trace the descent of the chiefs of many of these old tribes back to the same common ancestor, and in some cases even to the chiefs of Tswana tribes living now in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. But this inter-connection is almost entirely forgotten and very few of the chiefs remember their old genealogies.

Besides these tribes of Sotho origin, there are a few of alien extraction, namely the MaPetla, the MaPolane and the BaPhuthi, who were Ngoni of the Zizi clans. The majority have now become completely Sothoised, but though the tribal identity of the first two, who suffered most during the *Lifaqane* period, has been almost completely wiped out, that of the BaPhuthi, who until recently remained a strongly organised group, still persists. They still talk their own language—SePhuthi—among themselves, and in ordinary social contexts call themselves BaPhuthi rather than BaSotho. But it is significant that they claim to have originated at Ntsuanatsatsi,¹ though they have never been near the place. It might however be noted by contrast that, although closer to the Sotho in culture and language and genealogically related to them, the BaTlokoa still maintain their old intransigent attitude, ordinarily look down on the Sotho, whom they dub contemptuously “Bakhalahali,” and claim only a faint association with Ntsuanatsatsi. The MaHlope, however, a small Ngoni group at Butha Buthe, still speak their own language, keep their own customs, and dislike intermarriage with other people.

None of the Sotho tribes is a homogeneous unit, for in addition to its nuclear stock it contains people from alien tribes. The latter are usually groups who broke away from their parent stock, or remnants of tribes broken by war, who, unable to stand on their own, sought refuge under some more powerful tribe. Sometimes they were incorporated as an organised group under their own leader and so retained their political identity, or, as often happened, they were incorporated as small un-

¹ Ntsuanatsatsi is the name of a mountain in the northern Orange Free State, where many of the Sotho tribes sojourned for a time. But the name is now used not so much to denote a geographical reality as a semi-mythical place, where, as the legend goes, the first Sotho emerged out of a reed bed or a reed-fringed pool.

organised family groups and were gradually assimilated into the tribe, retaining no more than their old tribal name. Thus, among the BaTlokoa, the best knit tribe in Basutoland, there are groups of BaTlounge, BaTaung and BaKubung, each under its own head, as well as Ngoni of various clans (MaTebele as they are locally called), BaKoenā, MaPhuthing, BaSia and others scattered throughout the tribe. For political purposes these alien people have long since adopted the name of their foster tribe, though for ceremonial and social purposes they use their own tribal names, observe their own totemic taboos, and take precedence according to their tribal position—deferring of course to the superior claims of their hosts—and follow any minor differences of custom that might be associated with their tribe. The Ngoni have gone even further than other tribal groups; they have completely lost their old tribal customs and language and, since their Zulu ancestry relegates them to a lower status in the tribe than is accorded other tribal fragments (the name Letebele (sing. of Matebele) is usually used to connote contempt), they consciously try to assimilate themselves with their hosts as much as possible, and are reluctant to admit to their origin and even to their clan name.

Practically all these tribes have their own totem, from which in many cases the tribal name seems to have derived, e.g. the BaKoenā (people of the crocodile, *koena*), BaTaung (people of the lion, *tau*), and so on. Some tribes even have more than one totem, e.g. the BaFokeng, whose totems are the *letsa* (Vaal rhebok), *'mutla* (hare), and the *morara* (wild vine). Formerly these totems may have had some ritual significance, but today only the animal totems have any attention paid to them, in that tribesmen refrain from hunting, or from eating the flesh of, their totemic animal. Even this means very little, for about the only animals now living in Basutoland are Vaal rhebok (totem of the BaFokeng), baboons (totem of the BaTsoeneng) and wild cats (totem of the BaTlokoa, who when they see it are enjoined to wipe its fur across their eyes for fear of being blinded).

The tribes are also supposed to stand in a definite order of seniority, but the position is very confused. No one is quite sure how every tribe should be placed, and the dominant tribes usually claim to be traditionally senior to those beneath them. The point however is not of great practical importance, and is relevant only in initiation and other ceremonies, such as ritual purification, eating of first fruits, etc., which most of the tribes have abandoned. Those to whom it means much usually take care to avoid situations where their status is likely to be ignored. It might, however, be mentioned that the chiefs descended from Moshesh are expected to respect the Molibeli section of the BaKoenā who are their

seniors and, for instance, to exempt them from the tribal work to which all other Sotho are liable.

The Nation

As a result of this break up of the old tribal organisation, the Sotho now constitute a single unit, the nation (as it is commonly called), under the authority and control of the Paramount Chief. In many ways the nation is only a magnified tribe, having as it does many of the latter's characteristics, and, like it, being essentially a political unit.

The nation is composed of a number of different elements. In addition to the fragments of the old tribes, which themselves are not homogeneous, it contains many groups of aliens, which have recently come into the country and have never been absorbed into the tribes. These are chiefly members of the Cape Nguni tribes, who are known in Basutoland by the indiscriminating title of BaThepu. They live in small village groups, adhere strongly to their own language and culture, and have very little to do socially with the Sotho, who treat them with somewhat more contempt than they do the MaTebele.

Apart from these people, the other members of the nation have many common characteristics, namely a common culture (though the details of their customs and the extent to which they have retained their old ways vary considerably in different areas), a surprisingly uniform language (the dialectical differences of the BaTlokoa and the BaTaung are very small, and the BaPhuthi speak good SeSotho as well as SePhuthi), a strong legend of common origin, a common name *BaSotho* (given them by the Swazi as a nickname), and the growing use of the term *BaKoena* in public meetings and in the vernacular press as a symbol of their unity and common affiliation to the Paramount Chief's tribe.

These common characteristics nevertheless do not apply to all members of the nation, some of whom, as we have seen, have for instance a different language and culture. There is however one thing (and only one thing) that binds all Sotho nationals together, irrespective of culture, origin and language, and at the same time differentiates them from non-nationals, even though they may share their other characteristics, and that is their political allegiance and the enjoyment of the rights and duties which flow therefrom. The members of the nation all owe allegiance to the Paramount Chief and as his subjects, whether they are living in Basutoland or not, enjoy the right to have lands in the country, to graze their stock there, and to pay Basutoland taxes. Conversely, non-nationals do not recognise the authority of the Paramount Chief and enjoy none of the above rights.

This political unity of the nation has its administrative counterpart. As head of the nation, the Paramount Chief, called *morena e moholo* (the great chief), is its representative in all its external relations, owner or trustee of the land and natural resources, and supreme judge and ruler. It is with him that the British Administration deals in all important matters, and it is mainly through him that it comes into contact with his subordinates and the people. As supreme judge, he has jurisdiction over the whole country and in many matters his decision is final; as "owner" of or trustee for the land, he controls its distribution and exploitation (apart from the ordinary distribution of lands, he has for instance ordered the closing down of small coal outcrops which were being mined by the local inhabitants for their own use); as supreme ruler, he may send his messengers anywhere in Basutoland to enforce his judicial and administrative decisions, to hold court or to make administrative enquiries; and with the approval of his counsellors, he may give such orders or make such laws as he may think necessary for the governing of the country. His authority is real and substantial.

The Paramount Chief does not rule the country directly, but delegates his authority to subordinates, who may in turn delegate some of their authority. Thus the Paramount Chief's authority is spread over the country through chiefs (of whom there are about a dozen) responsible to the Paramount Chief himself, scores of subchiefs responsible to the chiefs, and hundreds of headmen responsible to subchiefs. The divisions over which they have authority are commonly called districts, sub-districts and wards.¹

The District

The origin of the present system lies in the past, for this type of division is purely political and has no relation to the usual principles of grouping such as kinship or tribe.

¹ These terms are somewhat misleading for, in the first place, there are many subchiefs subordinate to other subchiefs, and, secondly, the difference between their functions is largely a matter of degree, not of kind. Consequently the general term district will be used for every sort of division in the following description of Sotho political organisation, except where the context requires greater differentiation. Similarly with the terms chief, etc. For general descriptions the terms chiefs or authority will be used, and qualifications of these, such as important or senior, unimportant or junior, or specific reference to ward headmen will be introduced where necessary. This usage corresponds in its vagueness and generality to Sotho terminology; the title *morena* "chief" is given to anyone of any importance, while minor authorities, if given any titles at all, may be called *khosana* or *morenana* (little chief), or *ralebaka* (father of an area), or *ramotse* (head of a village).

As soon as Moshesh was in a position to do so, he divided the area under his control into districts, over each of which he placed someone whom he could trust. At first he placed his principal warriors and later, as the people became more amenable to his rule, he placed his sons. In a few cases, the tribal chiefs were left directly under him, either because their loyalty was unquestioned or because they were too strong to be tampered with. This system was continued by his successors, each of whom rearranged some of the districts and made fresh appointments as the claims of his sons and followers and political expediency dictated, with the difference that the major appointments were confined to sons. Consequently, to give them a caretaking commensurate with their status, districts were amalgamated and the old authorities degraded. Power has thus gradually been concentrated in the hands of the Paramount Chief and his near kinsmen, so that, of the dozen important districts that now obtain, two are still under the direct descendants of the sons Moshesh placed there, two under the present Paramount Chief's sons, three under his uncles, one under his nephew, and the rest under slightly more distant relations.

As mentioned above, these divisions have all been made on political grounds, and consequently bear no inherent relation to the original position of the people or of the old tribes. In some cases indeed, notably that of the BaPhuthi, the old tribal division was completely broken up in order to destroy the tribal cohesion, and fragments were joined with other groups to make separate districts. In other cases the new districts have been formed by the straightforward amalgamation of two or more old districts. Most of these districts correspond with the magisterial districts of the British Administration, as the latter were usually based on them, but occasionally they overlap.

Most of these districts are large. One has about 130,000 people, and others between thirty and sixty thousand each. There are two or three other districts coming directly under the Paramount Chief which are very much smaller, and except in their relationship to the Paramount Chief cannot compare with the important ones. They are really no more than subdistricts in what might be regarded as the Paramount Chief's own personal district. Their heads are descendants of some of the junior branches of the Moshesh lineage.

Every district is divided into subdistricts, which may themselves be further subdivided into smaller subdistricts. In size they vary enormously. Some may contain as many as 20,000 inhabitants and more, while others have as few as 600. Until recently some of these were separate

districts directly under the Paramount Chief, but they have now been degraded to a subordinate position, e.g. both Lelingoana's and Rafolatsane's holdings were districts until 1925, when they were amalgamated to form one district, Mokhotlong, under the Paramount Chief's son. (See Appendix.) Many other examples are to be found in the Western areas.

A number of these subdistricts correspond to the old tribal divisions, or contain some preponderant tribal group, with their traditional leader as head or subchief. Thus, the BaTlokoa still form a coherent tribal unit occupying the Malingoaneng subdistrict of Mokhotlong, and have within themselves subordinate integral groups of BaTaung and BaTlounge. Similar though less well-defined tribal groupings can be found in Butha Buthe (MaKhoakhoa and MaKholokoe), Leribe (BaKoenana and MaTebele), Mafeteng (BaTaung and BaFokeng), Mhale's Hoek (BaPhuthi and BaTaung), Quthing (BaPhuthi and Voova's BaFokeng), Maseru (BaKoenana, BaFokeng and odd small groups of BaTlokoa). Generally speaking, throughout the country the smaller the division, the stronger its tribal complexion.

The majority of the larger subdistricts are however very mixed and show little tribal homogeneity, and their heads, far from having any relation to whatever tribal groups there may be, are usually aliens placed there by successive Paramount Chiefs and chiefs. The smaller authorities are many of them descendants of Moshesh's warriors, or of his relatives whom he put there, who have now been superseded by closer kinsmen of the ruling house, and a few are friends and favourites of the latter who have been given holdings. The more senior authorities are the direct descendants of the chiefs placed there originally or, as mentioned above, the closer kinsmen of the ruling house.

*The Ward*¹

The ultimate division of the district is the ward, which consists of one or more villages, together with lands and pasturage, under the

¹ This terminology differs from that usually current in Basutoland where the term "ward" is usually used to designate the holdings or areas of the more important chiefs, the term "district" for an administrative division of the Basutoland Government and "caretaking" for the holding of a small subchief of headman. I have not followed this, mainly because the term "ward" and "district" have fairly well defined meanings in modern South African anthropological literature, and their use in the senses described above need not conflict with local usage. Moreover, the term "caretaking" locally applied by officials to describe what I have called a "ward" implies, to my mind, a degree of "appointment" of the "caretaker" ("headman" or "petty subchief") which is absent in the majority of cases. Many authorities, as

authority of the ward headman. It is the smallest political unit in Basutoland, and it is largely through the ward headman that the ordinary MoSotho comes into contact with the wider political machine.

In size the wards vary from fifty members to about 500. The inhabitants of most of the smaller wards are for the most part close connections of the headman, related to him in the male line from some common ancestor. Besides these groups of kinsmen, a number of other relatives, related by marriage, and perhaps a few friends may be found. The larger wards, besides the nuclear group of the headman's kinsmen and friends, usually have one or more mutually distinct inter-related groups, of which one is often composed of the descendants of the original founder and headman, whose heirs have been deprived of their authority in favour of the present headman. These groups often live in a distinct part of the village or, where the ward contains several villages, in different villages.

The ward headman is also village headman (*ramotse*, father of the village). Where there are several villages in a ward, each has its own head. The latter are the senior members of their respective kin-groups and have no political authority, i.e. they have no claim to distribute the ward's lands, may hold no court, and may only send the other villagers on messages on kinship, not political, grounds, and so may not punish them for disobedience. Nevertheless, they work in close co-operation with the ward head, who should consult them on all administrative matters and who should treat their opinion with the greatest deference.

*The Chieftainship*¹

Succession

"Succession to the chieftainship in Basutoland shall be by right of birth, that is the first born male of the first wife. If the first wife has no male issue, then the first born male of the next wife in succession shall be heir to the chieftainship."² In other words the chieftainship is heredi-

described below, are given a ward to "take care of" (according to Sotho terminology) for their patron or the authority placing them, but many others have acquired their position through inheritance, and, in the case of the many tribal groups, acquire their position as a hereditary right based on their people's occupation and traditional "ownership" of the area, rather than as a delegation of authority from above. This view of course finds little support in the courts of the dominant authorities, but it is keenly held by the politically powerless minorities.

¹ As the positions of the various authorities (chiefs, subchiefs and headmen) are very similar, the following analysis of the chieftainship may be taken to apply to all grades of authority except where otherwise mentioned.

² Laws of Lerotholi No. 1.

tary in the male line, and usually passes from father to son. Such is the bare statement of the rule, and though it adequately describes the position in a straightforward case, it does not cover the various complications that occasionally arise.

Apart from the fact that in the old days the mother of the heir, the senior wife, was not necessarily the first wife (a distinction which still occasionally obtains), the above definition omits all reference to the complicated laws regarding legitimacy whereby the senior wife, if barren or mother only of girls, is enabled to have a child, as it were, by proxy—i.e., the chief marries another wife, usually his senior wife's younger sister or brother's daughter, specially to "make a womb" for his senior wife (*ho mo etsetsa mala*). This younger wife's children are then brought up in the senior's hut, are regarded as her children, and acquire the rights and status her true children would have had. This fictional seniority has however always been regarded as somewhat flimsy, and claims based upon it usually lead to bitter dispute.

Another complication is sometimes introduced by Sotho disregard of physiological paternity as an element of legitimacy. Theoretically, the eldest son of the senior wife is entitled to succeed his father, whether begotten by him or not, even if born or begotten posthumously, and cases are on record where what we would regard as a bastard son has claimed and succeeded to the chieftainship. In these cases, however, time, if not the realistic opinions of the people, is usually against the heir, and unless he is old enough to contest his claim before his uncle or elder half-brother of a junior house (as regent) has consolidated his position, he will have very little chance of succeeding.

All these cases of disputed claims are dealt with by a council composed of the important members of the family concerned (uncles, paternal and maternal, and brothers and brothers-in-law, and elder sons of the deceased, who, in the case of the Paramount Chief and other important Koena chiefs, are comprehensively known as the "sons of Moshesh") together with the heads of the leading section of the tribe. If they could not settle it, it would formerly have had to be decided by force, and probably lead to the splitting of the tribe; nowadays it is settled either by administrative enquiry by the Government at the Paramount Chief's invitation, or by means of litigation in either the Native or the British courts, which may end, as in the Mojela case, only with the Privy Council.

When the heir, by reason of immaturity or mental incapacity, is unable to succeed on his father's death, his father's next brother becomes

regent with plenary powers and full rights, except that of passing the chieftainship on to his own sons. The regent should hand his authority over to his nephew when the family council decides. Occasionally anomalies occur where the regent is a strong and able ruler and the heir sickly and inefficient, the former retaining his position as virtually chief until his death, e.g. as in the case of Johnathan and his nephew Motsoene; and there are several cases on record of the regent's attempting to usurp the chieftainship, often with success.

The chieftainship may never be claimed through the female line, nor may women ever become chiefs. They may however become regents and their position is sometimes very little different from that of chief. There are no accepted principles to determine whether a woman rather than a man should become regent. When the heir-apparent dies before his father, his widow usually becomes regent for her small son or for an heir whom she may bear to her dead husband, although sometimes the regency may be taken over by the most senior of the old chief's brothers or sons, for his grandson actual or potential. (If the son takes over, one of his duties is to *kenela* (go in to) his brother's widow to raise up seed to him, if she has no children. If she has, she is entitled to refuse him her hut, for '*mangoana ha a keneloe*, the mother of the child is not gone-into). On the other hand a woman may become regent for her son on her husband's death instead of allowing the regency to go to her brother-in-law, though the latter is the more usual. Whether the one type of regency occurs or the other seems to depend partly on the personality of the people concerned and partly on the political circumstances of the case. The famous Mantatisi, "Queen of the BaTlokoa" as she used extravagantly to be called, seems simply to have swept her brother-in-law aside and stepped into her husband's place until her son Sekonyela was of age. Again, where her brothers-in-law are ambitious and unscrupulous, the deceased's widow may take over the regency in order to safeguard her son's rights. In other cases where the deceased's brothers belong to very junior houses only, his widow may be preferred to them as a worthier representative of the chieftainship. It is noteworthy that as a rule a female regent weakens the organisation of the group, as her grasp of affairs is weaker than that of a man (though Mantatisi's career is an outstanding example to the contrary, and Mathé, widow of Tau Johnathan, also ruled with firmness), and also because of latent rivalry between her and her mother-in-law. For this reason interested parties sometimes favour the appointment of a woman rather than a man as regent, in the hopes of eventually deriving some political advantage from the dissensions and disturbances within the group.

Succession as described above refers only to existing chieftainships, subchieftainships and so on. But it is not the only way in which a chieftainship, etc., may be acquired. Positions of authority of every sort, apart from the Paramountcy, may be created and incumbents appointed to them, or, as it is commonly described, "people are given caretakings or are 'placed.' " The system may be traced to two factors. The first is the custom, which seems fairly general among the Southern Bantu, of giving the senior sons of the chief holdings of their own, so that they may learn under their father's supervision the arts of government and the administration of the law, and so that they may, by sharing the emoluments and dignities of chieftainship, have no cause to quarrel with or plot against him. This aspect of the system is still observed, and is the reason for the practice of placing large areas of the country under the authority of the senior sons of the Paramount Chief when they come of age.

The second factor may be traced to Moshesh, who developed this system of placing as a means of governing his huge domain. For, as we have seen, in order to control or watch the more unruly segments of his people, he placed his reliable warriors over or near them, and later divided the country amongst his senior sons. He also rewarded his warriors and counsellors with small placings. This system has now been continued, and not only do all chiefs place their sons and favourites—not merely the sons of the principal wife, as Pim states—but most of these sons as well place their friends to strengthen and support them against the local populace. There are, as Sir Alan Pim points out, no limits to the number of authorities who can be created in this way,¹ and indeed so many have already been created that, as a speaker in the Basutoland Council remarked with pardonable exaggeration, "The chiefs in Basutoland are as the stars in Heaven."²

As a result of this system, the country has been divided into minute areas under "impoverished chiefs with expensive tastes" who, as indicated above, are usually friends and minor members of the Moshesh lineage. To provide them with lands and other pickings of authority required to maintain their status, the old tribal authorities have often been degraded and even completely displaced. This system has been criticised by various observers,³ and legislation to remove its undesirable aspects is at present under consideration.

¹ For details of one district see appendix.

² Quoted from Pim Report, pp. 47-48.

³ Pim Report, pp. 47 *et seq.*

Installation

The process of installing a new authority is very simple, but varies slightly between cases of succession and appointment. The former is here dealt with first.

The death of an authority is immediately reported to his senior, who in turn forwards the report to the Paramount Chief if the deceased was an important authority. The message in this latter case is accompanied by a gift of cattle from the deceased's people to "console" the Paramount Chief for his loss. Meanwhile public affairs are carried on by the deceased's brother or one of his leading counsellors, until the family council decides when the heir should be installed.

The senior authority is eventually notified of their decision, and on the appointed day a *pitso* is held. The heir is presented to the people by the deceased's brother, who first calls on the new chief to rule wisely, firmly and fairly and then on the people to support and succour their new leader. He is followed by others who speak in much the same vein. Some months later the new chief, who has to be officially recognised by the Paramount Chief, is summoned to Matsieng, and is again urged to comport himself as a chief and to listen to the advice of his counsellors, especially to that of his uncles and brothers, and these same people, who accompany him to the meeting, are exhorted to serve and advise him wisely and loyally. His accession is then notified to the Government. Alternatively the Paramount Chief sends his representative to attend and take part in the installation ceremony.

The procedure in the case of minor authorities is simpler. The incumbent's death is notified to his senior authority in the usual way. His heir then automatically takes over, unless the succession is disputed and has to be referred to the courts for a decision. Sometimes if the senior authority is a friend of the deceased and attends his funeral, he may call the people together at the end of the ceremony, and, pointing to the heir, "show" them their new headman and order them to respect and obey him.

Headmen and other minor authorities continue to live in their father's village and to use his court, but chiefs establish themselves in a new village, as soon as possible after the period of mourning ends. This new village should be built near, but not too near, their father's, and, according to the BaTlokoa, should be on the righthand side (though this rule is rarely observed). The site of the new village is magically protected and

is marked by the building of a small grass hut, where the chief spends the first night. Thereafter he need not live there himself until it is convenient for him to do so, but he must leave someone (usually a court favourite) in his stead. He must also use the new court forthwith. Both his father's village and his own old one (where he had been placed) should be maintained. His son or younger brother is therefore usually placed in his own village, and his father's favourite son, or some other junior brother (*mo-sala-lapeng*), left in the old village to look after his father's widows and to "keep the old court warm."

Placings

Authorities who owe their positions to appointment or placing must obtain official approval of their appointment before they may take up their position. In the case of the Paramount Chief's sons this approval should be obtained from the council of the "sons of Moshesh." If he should make an appointment without reference to them, no one can veto it, but such action will be keenly resented. In other cases, the Paramount Chief's approval must be sought by the chief making the placing, and he can cancel an appointment made without his consent, though normally he seldom interferes with minor placings made by or with the permission of important chiefs, even though he was not consulted. His consent is not given as a matter of course, and may be withheld for reasons of political expediency or because the new authority would be superior to some other authority genealogically senior to him.

The Paramount Chief usually notifies the Administration of these approved appointments and, with a view to avoiding the boundary disputes that so often occur in these cases, often invites the attendance of some government representative at a placing.

The actual procedure used at the installation of a placing is quite well described in the following report of a placing recently made in the Mokhotlong district. "I . . . on behalf of . . . (a messenger) who represents the Paramount Chief, and with the Assistant District Commissioner, who is the representative of His Honour the Resident Commissioner at these placings of the sons of Chief. . . . I confirm this placing on behalf of the Paramount Chief in the presence of His Honour the Resident Commissioner . . . I say 'There is the child of X (the unfortunate headman who is being saddled with this new superior subchief Y). Look after him, look after his horse, make fire for him, carry out his orders, from today onwards you must respect him as your chief.' Now I say to you Y, I give you the following words. It has today

pleased Molahlehi, the representative of Mankata and your late mother Makori, to place you, having consulted with the superior chief (Seeiso). Hence you see me and the Resident Commissioner at this your placing. I confirm it, I stretch forth my hand to place on your head this hat of Chieftainship in the presence of His Honour the Resident Commissioner. I say give up *marabaraba* (popular game resembling draughts), sit in court, respect the rights of X so that he may respect you as his chief, leave the company of young men who will mislead you and set you against the law, respect the people. You must detest theft; you must respect the authorities above you; you must obey their orders and the orders of the Government issued through them. Today I expect a push of the Tax Collection in this ward as you are a young man, which tax preserves the peace of Basutoland. I say to you if you disobey any of these orders, I, the representative of the Paramount Chief and the representative of His Honour the Resident Commissioner shall solemnly declare that we did not order you to be disobedient to the people or to envy them their wealth. We therefore wash the hands of the Paramount Chief and the hands of His Honour the Resident Commissioner from your blood that they shall not be responsible for it but your own self. This crown of chieftainship shall taken be from you, you shall be deposed, thrown away and you shall become a commoner."

"X then made the following boundary between himself and Y . . . and shewed Y his personal holding."

Privileges

Being a chief has many advantages. A chief is "somebody," a fact which is popularly recognised both in speech and behaviour. People greet him and address him by the title *morena* (chief), *tsabeha morena* (chief meet to be feared), *tau* (lion), *sebata* (fierce wild animal), and so on, and they salute him by raising their hats, sometimes by kneeling in the dust before him, and when he comes into court they scramble to their feet, murmuring greetings, adulation and applause. When he travels on official or ceremonial business he is accompanied by a commando of horsemen, his approach to or departure from a village is marked by the trembling cry, *lilietisa*, of the women, and at times the men sing and dance his praises. And generally speaking, on all social occasions he is met with more courtesy and fuss than anyone else. Minor authorities of course are treated with less consideration, but even they are better received than ordinary commoners, both under normal social conditions as well as at feasts and ceremonies, where they may be given better seats than others and be offered a special pot of beer or joint of meat for themselves and their followers.

Authorities also have the fun and satisfaction of being able to order other people about. They can send people on errands, and in the case of the more important authorities, may call on tribal labour to till their lands, bring them firewood and building material and do other similar unskilled tasks for them. Moreover, though theoretically everyone is equal before the law, in practice *morena ke molao* (the chief is the law), and not only may they slightly alter the course of justice to suit themselves, they are also allowed greater latitude of personal conduct than would be tolerated from an ordinary individual.

The most attractive and lucrative aspect of their position is the economic, and they are and for long have been the wealthiest people in the country. Their wealth lies mainly in stock but nowadays their other sources of revenue are not inconsiderable.

Many of the chiefs have huge flocks and herds, several of them have two and three hundred head of cattle and three times as many sheep or goats, while in a few cases these figures run into thousands. The lesser authorities of course are not nearly as well off, though they are, on the whole, wealthier than the average tribesman. This stock mainly derives from the old days when cattle-raiding was the people's greatest sport and activity, and the chiefs took the largest share of whatever was captured. In those days the chiefs' main enjoyment from these possessions lay in the prestige they gained through the display of such wealth and its political and social values as a means of ensuring the people's loyalty. As we shall see later, these values are now less important than they were, and the chiefs tend to lay more emphasis on the monetary value of their stock, and on the cash income to be derived from the sale of oxen and wool.

Besides this old source of revenue, the chiefs have always had a second from their courts, which is nowadays proving of considerable importance. For every authority has his court, and here they are allowed to inflict penal fines to be paid (mainly) in stock, in grain and in money. Their takings vary considerably, from about £200 per annum in the case of an important chief, to no more than one or two sheep, value about £1, in the case of a headman. The revenue of the Paramount Chief's courts is larger than those of the chief's, but I have no detailed figures on the point.

Senior authorities are also entitled to all stray stock found in their districts, and not claimed by the owners within a year of being found.

Finally, as is only right considering their status and obligations, chiefs and other authorities are entitled to larger and more numerous

lands than others. The smaller authorities usually have only one or two lands more than their people, but a few of the important chiefs, tending to take advantage of their privilege, sometimes cultivate an acreage somewhat larger than their needs and the small size of other people's holdings would warrant. One such chief, for instance, who had only one wife, had twenty large lands of his own. Important authorities are also entitled to unpaid tribal labour for the cultivation of a field, called the *tsimo ea lira* (the field of the army), which belonged to the chief in his official capacity; its produce used to go towards feeding the army and the chief's messengers and other public officials. Besides this a few of the important chiefs call on tribal labour for the cultivation of some of their other fields. A few used also to follow a rather ingenious system of parcelling out small fields among their headmen, which the latter cultivated, then sharing the produce with the chief. In this way the chiefs were able to insure themselves against total loss through locusts or hailstorms, and guaranteed a fair supply of grain without any trouble to themselves. The old Tlokoa chief Lelingoana had about ten of these fields. This system, however, appears to be dying out.

Other sources of income which many of the authorities enjoy are allowances granted them in respect of the Tax collected from their district. Five per cent. of the tax collected from it is allocated to each district, and after deduction of tax collectors' salaries is divided up among all but the most junior authorities. In addition to this, twenty-eight authorities—excluding the widows of three chiefs—receive special allowances. The Paramount Chief is allowed £1,950, the late Motsoene £400 and other chiefs from £300 to £5.

Levies, which play so important a part in the tribal finances of the Tswana, are comparatively unimportant among the Sotho. Occasionally a *sethabathaba* (better translated "whipround" than "levy," as people are expected to pay according to their means, not at a fixed rate) is imposed on a district. Its purpose usually is to provide funds for some common purpose, as for instance recently among the BaTlokoa to provide legal aid in a case where the chieftainship of the tribe was thought to be threatened; but on a few occasions it has been imposed to collect money to pay the chief's debts, and so to save him the disgrace of prosecution.

In the old days the chiefs were entitled to tribute such as the skins of leopards and the meat (chest—*sefuba*) of all game killed. Now, owing to the extermination of all wild animals, this right has become obsolete and has not been adapted to modern condition in the form, for instance, of exacting tribute from returning mine-workers, as occurred among some of the Tswana.

Functions

The duties of the Sotho authorities are essentially the same in all the different grades, but the senior authorities have wider jurisdiction and influence than the smaller authorities and greater responsibilities. In general terms their functions are to ensure the smooth working of society, and, in more specific terms, to maintain and enforce the law, and to protect, feed and "shepherd" (*lisa*) their people. To do this they are assisted by their relatives and counsellors, and they have at their command their wealth, the prestige of their office and the institutionalised force of their courts and messengers and ultimately of the British Administration.

The classic division of powers enunciated by political philosophers has no counterpart among the Sotho, for the authorities possess at once legislative, judicial and executive powers. For legislation as such, that is the making of new laws, the chiefs have very limited opportunities. In the old days, in their stable, relatively unchanging community, there was little need for additions or amendments to their laws, and most of the changes necessary could be quietly effected through their judicial decisions. Nowadays, though legislation is necessary to meet new conditions, this is largely provided by the British Administration. Nevertheless, proclamations emanating from the chiefs (particularly from the Paramount Chief) and having the force of law are not unknown. Moshesh for instance forbade the importation of European liquor and its sale to Natives, and abolished the death penalty for sorcery and theft; and the present Paramount Chief has promulgated certain laws, of which the most important has been the prohibition of canteen-keeping and of the brewing of beer for sale. There are also the so-called "Laws of Lerotholi" compiled by the Basutoland Council and approved by the Paramount Chief. (But though they have the effect of law, they are not so much new legislation as the codification of the current customary law.)

The chiefs' executive power is even more important, and it is difficult to say where their authority ends. They may order people to their court, to carry their messages and to do such services as the law allows them to exact. They may order people to eradicate noxious weeds and to collect their own stock at prescribed places for veterinary inspection or other necessary purposes. In a word, they may issue such orders as are necessary in respect of any action which they deem should be taken. Disobedience to such orders is punishable not only in their own courts but also in the courts of their superiors.

The chiefs are expected to use this power for the proper administration of public affairs, over the whole range of which they have complete

control. A few of the matters they deal with have been mentioned above. In addition they have to control the exploitation of land by allotting fields for agriculture, demarcating pastures—reserving some for winter feed and others to preserve reeds, thatching and other useful grasses—and controlling the expansion of the villages and allotting sites for building. They also control the establishment of schools and the holding of initiation ceremonies, and they are expected to send their messengers to feasts and ceremonies such as marriage or initiation, to witness contracts that might be made, and to prevent breaches of the peace. They should also supervise the functioning of junior authorities, control the placing of new authorities and demarcate their boundaries. Formerly too they used to decide questions of war and peace, organise the fighting forces and supervise the protection of the people and the building of their retreats and strongholds. Nowadays they are expected to help the British Administration in executing its orders and in such specific matters as eradication of noxious weeds and tree-planting collection of tax (in recognition of which they receive an allowance), and investigation of crime dealt with by the European courts.

Their judicial functions are also important. Every authority has his own court—in fact without it he would not be an authority—and here he may try all cases, criminal and civil, falling within his jurisdiction.¹ These courts have power to compel the attendance of witnesses and parties to a dispute, and to enforce their decisions. Appeals may be taken from each court to the one above it, until finally the Paramount Chief's court is reached. This court has final jurisdiction in cases dealing with land, the appointment of authorities, and political disputes, but appeals in other cases go to the courts of the Commissioner in whose district the case originated.

Unlike the chiefs of many other Bantu peoples, Sotho chiefs have very scanty magico-religious functions. Formerly no one was allowed to plough before the chief or to use his crop if it ripened before the chief's, unless he first presented the chief with the first fruits. Whether this had any religious aspect or not it is impossible now to say; to the BaTlokoa, who are the last of the Sotho to practise, it has little meaning or purpose other than as a symbol of the chief's priority. Neither rite so far as I could discover contains any magical or religious element. As guardians

¹ The only cases specifically removed from jurisdiction of the Sotho courts are murder, rape and similar serious offences. Junior courts usually deals with only minor cases, the limits of their jurisdiction being left to their own discretion, although it may occasionally be specifically limited by a senior court.

of the people's interest, however, the chiefs are expected to protect the land from hail and frost (either by means of their own medicines or by those of a hired doctor), and to secure rain in times of drought, either by organising the tribal rain ceremonies (*molutsane*) or by hiring a doctor to make rain (*fehlela pula*). In both cases they act in a purely administrative capacity (just as today the Paramount Chief occasionally appoints a certain Sunday as a universal day of prayer for rain), and not in any religious capacity as link with the tribal ancestors. Actually, when the BaTlokoa first occupied their present home, they made a medicine composed of ingredients culled from Sekonyela's grave and from their old home at Nkoe, where they have lived for several generations, and with this they doctored their country, uttering at the same time an invocation to the chief's ancestors. But this is the only instance I have of the chief's office as such being connected with either magic or religion, though of course many chiefs were also skilled doctors who performed their own magical rites; e.g. Lelingoana used to protect his people from lightning and hail, and Johnathan was the recognised rain-maker in North Basutoland. Many of the junior authorities also have their own medicines, and, though the custom is dying out, a few still doctor their village and sometimes all their people at the beginning of the new (Sotho) year or after the village has been struck by lightning.

The chief is also expected to use the material advantages of his position and his wealth for the benefit of the people. Not only is he the richest man in the community, but he derives part of his wealth from the activities of his subjects; and it is only to be expected, so his people say, that he should have their welfare at heart. Thus, he should provide them with refreshment when they are engaged in his work, and keep his court regularly supplied with meat and occasionally with beer and other food-stuffs, and for the sake of reciprocity he should feed and shelter all strangers and official visitors. For these purposes he was expected not to hesitate to draw on his own resources, but he was also entitled to use the produce of the *tsimo ea lira*, provided he kept enough apart to feed the army and perhaps also stored against famine.

Formerly many chiefs conscientiously fulfilled these obligations and, for instance, kept a stewpot continually simmering on the court fire, or instructed their wives and other women of the village to supply the court with bread, milk or beer, so that, as in Lelingoana's case, it would be said of them that the people in their court were as flies round the milk-pail. Today, since there is less need for generosity, and since there are so many more attractive ways of disposing of their wealth, e.g. on better food, clothing, housing and luxuries such as racehorses and motor-cars,

the old openhandedness is now rarely met with, and few chiefs even have the courtesy and kindness to feed the messengers coming from other authorities, let alone provide for the ordinary people who come to their courts.

In the old days, too, though it was not altogether expected of them, some of the old polygamists such as Mohlomi, Moshesh, Letsie and others who had scores of wives, used to connive at the cohabitation of their followers with junior and less important wives, and even encouraged a few of the more permanent attachments. They might also occasionally provide some poor retainer with the *bohali* cattle (brideprice) for his wife and help him set up his own establishment. Further, for the sake of prestige and also because it is expected of them, some of the chiefs support a larger number of dependants (who help herd their cattle or assist in the household chores) than strict economy requires. An important chief in the South, for instance, had, apart from his own children and immediate family, some sixteen people living with him, of whom half were orphans or impoverished widows who had come to him for support.

Executive Officers

The chiefs rarely carry out their functions personally, usually relying on their court officials who act on their behalf. Many of them have one principal executive officer who enjoys their complete confidence and who acts as their principal adviser. These people do most of the work themselves, dealing directly and on their own initiative with most of the important matters, save those dealing with lands, which must be referred to the chief, whatever they may be, interview important messengers and visitors, and see that the chief's orders are properly carried out. They usually preside over the chief's court and direct its judicial work. They are often assisted by other officials with whom they consult and to whom they leave the petty details of everyday administration, the handling of ordinary correspondence, the hearing of minor complaints and the examination of stock for which removal permits ("bewys") are wanted. These junior officials also act as the chief's secretaries, write out orders, summonses, court records, *bewys*, etc.

These officials also share to some extent in the fruits of office and enjoy minor privileges of the same sort as the chief. But they also expect definite remuneration from their chief, which should bear some relation to his wealth and importance and the weight of their own duties. In a few cases the secretaries are paid by the Government. It might be noted that minor authorities, the volume of whose business is small, usually carry

out their functions with the unpaid help of relatives and friends, and for secretaries often rely on the voluntary aid of the local teacher.

Besides these officials, chiefs often have others whose functions are limited and specific. They sometimes have specially appointed land controllers, whose function is to distribute land, deal with the pastures, supervise the cutting of thatching grass, etc., and see that the chief gets his due share. (People have free access to the reed beds, etc., take what they want and then give the chief a definite proportion of their taking, which he uses himself or distributes on application to those who for some reason have insufficient grass for their huts, or have none at all). These duties are mostly carried out by one and the same person, but may sometimes be allocated to different people. In the mountain districts, caretakers may also be appointed to the remoter areas to control the movements of stock and prevent animals straying to the cultivated areas and generally to supervise such local inhabitants as may have settled there.

Chiefs also make extensive use of the services of their subjects as messengers, for the carrying of messages is one of their civil duties. They may be sent anywhere at any time, and have to provide their own transport and sustenance,¹ though, if they have to travel far, the chief to whom they are sent is expected to feed them and their own chief to reward them on their return. No rota of service is kept, and, though some chiefs may try to share the work out equally, most are quite haphazard.

Besides these temporary *ad hoc* messengers, important chiefs have regular messengers to ply between themselves and neighbouring chiefs as well as the District Commissioner. These "political messengers," as they are called, often act on behalf of the Government as a witness to the drawing of boundaries at a placing or after court decision to a dispute, or to the enforcement of important judgments given by the chief's or Paramount Chief's court. Many of them are paid by the Government and in the mountain areas they may also act as postmen.

Mention might also be made of an interesting relay system of messengers which used to obtain in some parts, notably among the BaTlokoa. The chief appointed various men from his village as permanent messengers to neighbouring headmen; the latter also appointed some of their followers as permanent messengers to other headmen, who in their turn did the same, until every authority in the district was linked to the chief. Then in all cases of urgency, such as the death of the chief (when all work had to stop and everyone come to mourn), danger of war,

¹ Law of Lerotboli No. 4.

or some urgently required *pitso*, the chief's messengers ran or rode post haste to their respective destinations, and delivered the message, which the local headman immediately passed on to the people, and through his messengers to other authorities. In this way the news was rapidly spread from one end of the district to the other.

These permanent messengers of the chief also acted as his "eyes and ears" at the various feasts and ceremonies such as marriage or initiation, where his attendance was required as previously described, and as such were treated with marked respect and hospitality.

The Chief's Advisers

Every chief is also assisted in his administration by the advice and counsel of his people. Every person is entitled to advise him—though in practice very few take advantage of their privilege, except perhaps indirectly through their headmen or the chief's own entourage. Conversely, he may also ask anyone for advice. The chief of course is not bound to take the advice given, though his decisions are inevitably influenced by his knowledge thus acquired of his people's attitude.

Besides this general right which everyone may claim, a few people by virtue of their position in the tribe or district have the right to expect to be consulted by the chief and to be seriously angered if he elects to ignore them. Such people are primarily the chief's near relations—his brothers, uncles and senior sons if the latter are of age—and secondarily the principal authorities in the district, such as subchiefs, leading headmen and the leaders of the principal tribal groups, whether he is related to them (as he usually is) or not. (Those whom the Paramount Chief should call on for advice, the "sons of Moshesh," are related to him not only through direct descent from Moshesh but also by extensive intermarriage. They are also related to many of the old tribal chiefs, except the BaTlokoa, with whom intermarriage is alleged to be debarred, as the "parts" of a Tlokoa chief were once incorporated into Moshesh's war medicines. Again, among the BaTlokoa the same interrelationship of the authorities is found; the chief's mother, for instance, was the daughter of the Taung subchief, his wife the daughter of the Tlounng subchief, and his senior son's wife the daughter of the head of the MoKhalong group.) In the old days such consultation was essential, for the chief relied almost entirely on the support of these sectional leaders in carrying out his policy. To use Theal's phrase "in agreement with them he was strong, in opposition powerless."* Today, although his authority is

¹ Basutoland Records, vol. II, p. 58.

more secure, he is still expected to consult with them and it is still politic to do so, for with their help administration runs smoothly, whereas if their feelings are injured they may turn out to be awkwardly obstructive. Other people who also have a right to be consulted are the chief's executive officials (who sometimes do not fall within the above category, though they are usually related to the chief or are leaders of a section of the people), for since they will be responsible for enforcing his decisions they claim that they should know what is being discussed, as well as be given an opportunity of putting forward their own views.

These advisers are often described as counsellors but, as Schapera has pointed out in respect of the advisers of the Tswana chiefs, "they do not belong to any formally constituted body, their number is not fixed or limited in any other way, and they are not formally appointed as official advisers."¹ Their only title to consideration is their position in the tribe, but even this cannot be delimited. Moreover it is left entirely to the discretion of the chief whom he invites to any discussion, and even whether he invites any of them at all. But to ignore them consistently would formerly have been suicidal, and nowadays would be strongly resented, not only by those neglected but by the people generally.

The meetings with these advisers are usually private and consequently are held in some secluded place such as the chief's hut or office, either early in the morning or in the afternoon, so as not to interfere with the court routine, which takes up most of the forenoon. Occasionally, at the chief's discretion, they may be held in public, when anyone interested may listen to the discussion and, if he be bold enough, join in.

The chief is not expected to seek advice only from these recognised counsellors, but may and does consult others. He may invite the opinion of individual tribesmen who may have some special connection with the subject under discussion which makes their advice particularly valuable, or he may consult with intelligent strangers for the sake of their unprejudiced opinion, or their knowledge of affairs elsewhere relevant to the question at issue. But he always has his favourites and confidential advisers whose opinions he relies on. They may be invited to the discussions with the others, but they are usually consulted in private, for they are often unpopular, and in any case generally prefer to deal with him by himself. He may also have private interviews with ordinary commoners to try to gauge public opinion on some matter, but as it is not strictly etiquette or in keeping with his position to do so, he usually leaves this to his principal advisers.

¹ *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, p. 75.

Public Councils

In minor matters, the chief's decision is communicated to the people through their headmen or by his own executive officials, but all matters of importance should first be discussed publicly with the people at a meeting (*pitso*) to which all the men are summoned. These meetings are held in the chief's village and are presided over by him. The matters to be discussed (which have already been dealt with in council) are introduced by one of his relatives, usually an uncle, or by one of his other counsellors, and then spoken on by some of his other counsellors before being thrown open to the tribe for debate. It would finally be wound up by the chief or a senior counsellor (the part played by the chief being entirely determined by his own activity and interest), and his decision, if any, announced with the words *Le lumile* (It has thundered). This closes the meeting.

Formerly these *pitso*s were frequently called by Moshesh and other chiefs to discuss questions of policy and administration, and they played a lively part in the political affairs of the people. Discussion according to contemporary observers,¹ was keen, and great freedom of speech allowed, and great weight attached to the opinions and attitude of the people. Actually, as often as not they followed the line they judged was being taken by the chief, but if for some reason they opposed him the latter would not often risk facing the issue. Moshesh himself, for instance, constantly asserted that he could do nothing without consulting and gaining the consent of his sons and subchiefs, and in his announcements and proclamations he usually used such phrases as "Given with the advice and concurrence of our tribe," or, as in his proclamation against witchcraft, "This word is for public information and will stand as law, and is assented to by Letsie (his eldest son,) by all my brothers and by all men of the tribe who spit on the lie of witchcraft and cover its face with their spittle."² Moreover most of the meetings held with British or Boer officials took the form of a *pitso* to which the tribesmen and subchiefs were summoned, and where they took an active and decisive part in the discussions.

When later the chief's power was strengthened by the protection of the British Administration, the chiefs paid less attention to public opinion and the *pitso* tended to fall into disuse. It was rarely called for consultative purposes and tended to be used merely as a convenient means of announcing to the people orders promulgated by the Administration or the Paramount Chief. In some areas it might be called in connection

¹ Vide H. Dieterlen in *Livre d'Or de la Mission du Lessouto* (Paris, 1912), p. 23.

² Quoted from the late H. Ashton. MS.

with the agenda for the Basutoland Council proposed by the chief and other local members, or to report on the Council's deliberations. But at all these meetings little scope was given for public debate. The chief and his counsellors tended to be inattentive and uncommunicative and to close the meeting early and peremptorily, consequently the discussions became formal and perfunctory, and the people bored and listless. This still obtains in many areas, but throughout the country, largely through the encouragement of District Officers and the re-awakening of public interest in political matters, the *pitso* is slowly gaining in importance.

Mention might also be made of the so-called National Pitso. This is an institution which grew out of the old tribal *pitso* and is really no more than the tribal *pitso* enlarged to embrace the whole nation. In the past it has played an important part in the country's affairs and some of the most crucial points in the people's history were dealt with by such a *pitso*, namely the disarmament proposals of the Cape Government (1879), peace terms after the Gun War (1883), and the raising of the tax to make the country independent of the Cape Government's grant-in-aid (1898). Besides this the National Pitso was held annually near the present site of Mazenod Mission to hear and discuss Government announcements and proposals. Since 1903, however, the discussion of policy and other administrative matters has been left to the Basutoland Council which was established in that year, and thereafter the National Pitso changed into a purely ceremonial affair to be held only on such occasions as the visit of Royal Princes, the Governor-General, or the High Commissioner, when huge, spectacular meetings are held at Maseru, the Administrative Capital.

*Basutoland Council*¹

The establishment of a Basutoland Council was proposed as early as 1883 but rejected by the chiefs. Eleven years later the proposal was revived by the Paramount Chief but again opposed by the chiefs. The council was established in 1903 largely owing to the energies of the then Paramount Chief, who saw in it a means of strengthening his rather feeble successor. Its final constitution, laid down by Proclamation 7 of 1910, provides for one hundred members, consisting of the Paramount Chief, ninety-four to be nominated by him and approved by the Resident Commissioner, and not more than five to be nominated by the Resident Commissioner. Its functions are purely advisory, namely, to quote Sir

¹ Officially designated Basutoland Council by Proclamation 7 of 1910, but popularly called "National Council," *Vide* Pim.

Alan Pim, "to discuss the domestic affairs of the Territory, including appropriations of money paid in taxes, to ventilate opinions and grievances, to deliberate on tribal disputes and to confer with the Administration on tribal affairs."¹ In addition it may make recommendations to the Paramount Chief and advise his promulgation of orders to take effect as Sotho laws.

In spite of its name, the Council, as its constitution would suggest, is representative primarily of the Chiefs and their adherents and "so far as effective action is concerned their outlook is limited to that of these elements of the Nation though the sentiments expressed are often of the most lofty and altruistic character."² The Council started off with a flourish and produced the interesting collection of Sotho laws known as the "Laws of Lerotholi," which were slightly modified in 1922 and 1923; and since then it has made a few interesting and valuable suggestions, some of which, such as the establishment of regional school committees, have recently been taken up by the Administration. It has also provided a convenient means of airing grievances covering the whole range of administration, and has given the Administration a valuable opportunity of clearing up misunderstandings and of outlining its policy in such matters as agriculture, land reclamation, education and medical service. But it has afforded little help to the Administration in forwarding its work and developmental activities, as for instance in such matters as tree-planting and stock improvement, and it has frequently checked the issue of desirable legislation. It has however contributed greatly to the strengthening of the Paramountcy as its co-founder, Lerotholi, hoped it would, and the chiefs and their nominees, continuing their historical role, have "strenuously opposed any measures which seemed likely to affect their hereditary rights and prerogatives."³

The Chief's Power and Popular Opinion

"No Native chief is despotic in the sense that he can carry out any measure in opposition to the will of his people, and of all the chiefs known to us at that time, Moshesh was the one who could least afford to disregard the inclinations of his subjects. Every other prominent ruler, both along the coast and in the interior, governed by hereditary right, but Moshesh had little claim on that ground. His own father was still living, representatives of elder branches of his family were numerous. . . . He was merely the head of a number of clans, each with very large powers of

¹ Report, p. 24.

² *Ibid.* p. 28.

³ *Ibid.* 28.

self-government. Everyone of his subchiefs expected to be consulted in matters of importance and if his advice were neglected gave no support to his superior."¹ This description of Moshesh's position is also true of that of the chiefs of other independent Sotho tribes, for they all depended on the support of their junior authorities and ultimately on their people.

To some extent this support was based on "almost superstitious respect for the chief" which somewhat "resembled the ancient theory of the divine right of kings."² As the Sotho put it, *morena ke morena ka tloleho*—the chief is chief from the beginning—and has an hereditary right to the people's respect and loyalty.

They also have another reason to expect this support, namely the fact that they are the central pivot of the tribe, the people's leader and *molisa* (shepherd). The Sotho believe in these points so strongly that even today they still strongly support their chiefs, not so much however the individual chiefs as the office of chieftainship.

Formerly this emotional basis of popular support was not enough, particularly where a number of the chiefs were not actually born to the chieftainship, as in the case of Moshesh above, though they may have belonged to some senior lineage. The chiefs had to conduct themselves like chiefs, to be as the Sotho put it, generous, just and brave, and amenable to the advice of their counsellors and of the tribe. For the sake of tribal unity and safety in the troublous times during and after the *Lifaqane*, the people were prepared to endure a fair amount of mishandling by their chiefs, but they were never bound to stand them for longer than they wanted. It was always open to them to leave their chief and to join a more promising leader elsewhere, or to break away in a body under the leadership of the chief's popular younger brother or son. The chiefs fully realised this, and those who were wise punctiliously consulted with their counsellors and people, and avoided any show of tyranny and autocracy. As might be expected, this sanction did not always prove effective, and Sotho history contains a number of examples of tribes breaking away from an intolerable chief, and the early missionaries distressfully recorded how frequently the people moved from one chief to another. This freedom of movement was a valuable safety valve which enabled the people to relieve the strain of an intolerable chief before their feelings became inflammable, and there are consequently very few cases on record of chiefs being murdered or banished by the tribe.

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

² E. Casalis: *The Basutos* (London, 1861) p. 214.

The position has now changed considerably for with the fixed boundaries of Basutoland and the tremendous growth of population the old freedom of movement has been greatly restricted. Moreover the chiefs are now no longer dependent on the numbers of their followers and have no incentive to consult them and win their consent or support. Consequently with absence of the old control from below, the efficiency of the chiefs has tended to degenerate. The people however are still very strongly attached and loyal to the old institution which has served them so well in the past, and though they may grumble at the conduct of individual chiefs and make in the Basutoland Council and Press suggestions for their control and improvement, they are extremely apprehensive lest any reform should have the effect of weakening the chiefs and so jeopardising the stability and safety of the country. Indeed such is their belief in and respect for the chieftainship, that a suspected attack on the institution finds the nation solid in its support.

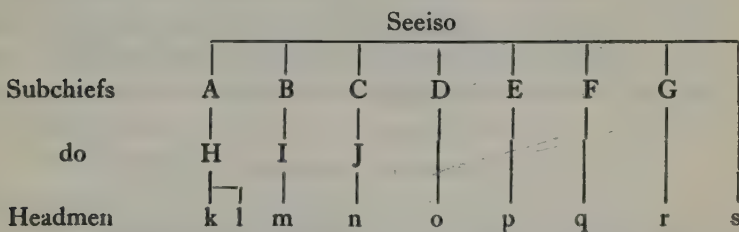
APPENDIX

Details of Political Organisation of Mokhotlong District as at April 1936.

District Chief. Seeiso, placed 1925. Son of present Paramount Chief, Griffiths. The district is divided into three areas, one directly under him, one under Mankata and one under Mosuoe, whose predecessors were directly under the Paramount Chief before Seeiso was placed there.

Seeiso's district. Population about 9,000. Nineteen subordinate authorities. Of these nineteen, eight had been placed between 1933 and 1936, one over a small untenanted ward excised from Mankata's holding, and seven as subchiefs over the remaining authorities, of whom three are subchiefs with authority over other headmen.

Diagram as under.



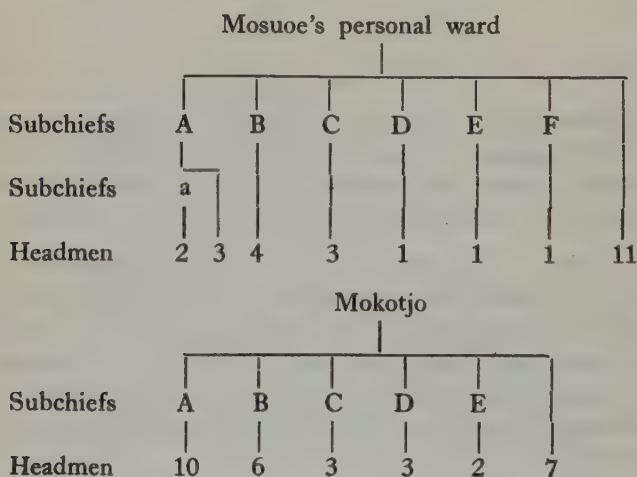
Before Seeiso was placed here, there had been sixteen authorities under Rafolatsane. Of these, four were left by Seeiso as they were, two raised a grade from headman to subchief, five reduced a grade from subchief to headman, and five others wiped out altogether.

Mankata's district. Population about 7,000. Eighteen subordinate authorities. Mankata is the daughter-in-law of Rafolatsane, son of Letsie I, placed in 1890 ca. to watch the BaTlokoa. The district was divided into three, one area directly under Mankata with some eight headmen directly under her, and the other two under Rafolatsane's junior sons, with the remaining headmen subordinate to them.

Mosuoe's district. Population 22,000 with ninety subordinate authorities. Mosuoe is a son of Lelingoana, chief of the BaTlokoa who was allowed to settle here in 1884. This district is divided into four areas, one directly under him, one under his son, one under his half-brother, and one under his father's brother. They were all established some thirty years ago. His father proposed to establish

another of his half-brothers over a fifth area, but this placing was vetoed by Seeiso. His own holding, with a population of some 7,000, has thirty-three subordinate authorities, consisting of three subchiefs each with one subordinate headman below them, one subchief with three headmen, one subchief with four headmen, one with three headmen, a subchief with two headmen, and eleven headmen directly subordinate to him. His son Mokotjo's district (which used to be his during his father's lifetime) has a population of about 9,000 and thirty-six subordinate authorities, seven being headmen directly under Mokotjo, and five being subchiefs with two, three, three, six and ten headmen respectively. The organisation of the other two areas is similar.

It will be noted that the BaTlokoa have a rather smaller proportion of population per authority as compared with the other two divisions. The reason lies partly in the Tlokoa habit of living in small and scattered villages and partly in the fact that the wards are largely kin groups, which prefer to be compact and independent political units, whereas in the two other areas the villages are large and tend mainly to be aggregations of strangers and other unrelated peoples.



A PRELIMINARY CHECK LIST OF ZULU NAMES OF PLANTS

With Short Notes

By REV. JACOB GERSTNER, Ph.D.

(Continued)

- 299. *inCa* (general), used according to Bryant generally like *u(lu)Tshani*. (2, NO) a certain tall soft grass used for thatching.
- 300. *uCabazane* (2) a Composite herb.
- 301. *umCabekazane* (1), according to Bews, *Trema bracteolata* Blume, the Pigeon-wood, a common tree all over in closed bush.
- 302. *i(li)Cacane* (general), certain in marshy ground growing *Kniphofia* species like *Kniphofia longiciollis* Bak., *Kniphofia alooides* Moench. etc., whose leaves are used as strings in hut-building.
- 303. *uCadolo*, a more rare form of *uQadolo*, *Bidens pilosa*.
- 304. *amaCafuthane* (1, W & S), according to Weintroub probably *Royena pallens*.
- 305. *umCaka* (general), *Erythroxylon pictum* E.M., a tree of the bushveld, yielding very good fruit of small long ellipsoidal form and dark crimson colour. The timber is very much appreciated for carving.
- 306. *i(li)Cakathi* (1) according to Watt, *Agapanthus umbellatus* L'Herit.
- 307. *isiCakathi* (1), *Salvia scabra* Thung. Leaf paste purgative for infants.
- 308. " *umCalathole* " (1), according to Bews, *Faurea saligna* Harr., the " zwarte Benkehout," a tree of the Protea-family.
- 309. *inCaluka* (2, NES, NUF) *Hypoxis spec.* with very hairy calyx, planted at the kraal as *intelezi* against lightning.
- 310. *Camatwana* (1), according to Mogg 1129, a Cyperacea, a rush.
- 311. *uCambalala* (1), a certain spreading grass.
- 312. *Cambathe* (1), according to Mogg, a Mountain Protea.
- 313. *umCamcambe* (1, NND), a shrub like Peddiea.
- 314. *inCamu* (4), probably *Othonna natalensis* Sch. Bip., used all over as vermifuge for calves.

315. *inCamuthi* (1, NES), vermifuge for calves, *umuti wamankonyane*, probably the same as *inCamu*.
316. *umCandothambo* (1), according to Bews, *Allophylus decipiens* Radkl., a shrub of the Sapindus family.
317. *umCane* (S & X) *Sclerocarya caffra*, a bushveld tree.
318. *amaCansana* (1, NZ) black edible fruits in the forest.
319. *inCapha* (2), according to Mogg 6294 and 6139, *Scirpus costatus* Soech. and *Scirpus prolifer* Rottb., used to place under girls while menstruating.
320. *uCaphothi* (1, S & X), an unknown plant.
321. *i(li)Caphoxi* (1, NES), *Makaya bella* Harv., a shrub or little tree with beautiful mauve bells usually growing along rivers in mist-belt forests.
322. *uCaphuze* (1, NZ, Ngoya), Sanicula-like herb used against *umkhuhlane*, 2 spoonfuls a day.
323. *inCathafane* (1), *Kaempferia ethule* Wood. It is said that it causes horse-sickness in a very mild form.
324. *Cathakazi* (1, S & X) according to Weintroub, a plant, parts of which are edible.
325. *isiCathangoë* (2, NKA) *Gardenia globosa* Hochst., the beautiful white flowering September bells.
326. *uCathucathu* (1), according to Bryant, *Hibiscus surattensis* L. The pounded leaves are said to be a remedy against bladder troubles.
327. *umCaza* (1, NKA) *Crotolaria capensis* Jacq.
328. *u(lu)Cebe* (1), according to Bews, *Andropogon amplexans* Nees., a common grass of the high veld.
329. *umCebekazana* (4), *Trema bracteolata* Blume., the Pigeon-Wood.
330. *umCela* (1), according to Mogg 1661 *Cymbopogon auctus*. Probably the same as *umCele*.
331. *isiCelankoë* (1), according to Bryant a certain tree growing in bushveld.
332. *umCele* (2) according to Bryant a fine grass for thatching, according to Mogg 1661 *Cymbopogon anatus*, a grass; (2) according to Bryant and Bews probably a rare form for *umKlele*, *Ehretia hottentotica* Burch.

333. *inCelo* (1), according to Mogg 6307, a species of *Albuca* L. used as purgative and vermifuge for men and beast.
334. *inCema* (general), long rush, growing in swamps about the coast and making the best kind of sleeping mats; according to Mogg 6516 & 3227 *Juncus maritimus* Lam. and *Juncus effusus* L. probably some other very similar ones as well.
335. *inCembe* (general), Tulips like *Homeria* and *Moraea*, e.g. Mogg 1133 *Moraea natalensis* Baker.
336. *inCembo*, the same as *inCembe* according to Mogg.
337. *inCembu*, the same as *inCembe*.
338. *i(li)Cena*, the aloes of the sub-tribe of Saponariae as *Aloe saponaria*, *Aloe Greenii*, *Aloe striata*, *Aloe macracantha*, *Aloe brachyphylla*, *Aloe latifolia*, *Aloe Dyeri*, *Aloe melunacantha*, *Aloe suprafoliata*, *Aloe pretoriensis*, *Aloe mudenensis*, *Aloe umfoloziensis*, *Aloe Pongolensis*, *Aloe pongolensis* var, *Zuluensis*, *Aloe Keithii*, etc., etc.
339. *i(li)Cena lamatshe* (1, NMA), *Aloe van Baleni*.
340. *umCenyane* (1, NO), *Plectronia spinosa* Klotzsch.
341. *umCeya* (1), according to Mogg, *Podocarpus spec.*, probably S & X.
342. *uChacha* (general), *Tecomaria capensis* Spach., the wild red Honey-suckle which makes a beautiful hedge.
343. *uChanca* (1, NES), the same as *uChacha*.
344. *umChaphamanzi* (1), a tree with edible fruits similar to *amaDoni* and growing along water.
345. *uChaphoxi* (1, NMA), the same as *uXhaphoxi*.
346. *u(lu)Che* (1) according to Bryant a kind of very fine, bright green river grass, having soft hair-like blades. (*uKhazikhuzi*).
347. *i(li)Chile*, probably the same as *i(li)Chiye*. Hides are poisoned with the juice of the bulb so that the dogs may not eat them.
348. *umChinini* (1, NZ) herb for making *insizi* for *ukugcaba*, vaccination.
349. *umChinsini* (NES, NUF, NO, i.e. general in the Umhlatuze valley) the same as *umKhuhlu*, *Trichilia emetica* Vahl.
350. *i(li)Chitha* (1), said to be a certain herb (*Scilla Kraussii*) used by an *umthakathi* to raise strife and disruption in a kraal or family.
351. *i(li)Chiye* (1), a medicinal plant.
352. *i(li)Chiye* (general), a number of very poisonous Lily plants, whose bulbous roots produce a lather used for cleansing shields, hides, etc.

353. *imiChiza*, any green firewood.
354. *isiChobamhlaza* (1), according to Bryant a certain tree growing in the bush-country.
355. *i(li)Choboka*, the same as *umChoboka*.
356. *umChoboka* (1) according to Bryant a kind of reed, used for making snuff-boxes and musical pipes.
357. *i(li)Cholachola* (1, S & X), according to Watt, *Helichrysum leiopodium* DC., probably the same as *i(li)Cholocholo*.
358. *i(li)Cholocholo* (1); according to Watt, *Helichrysum undifolium*, used as tea against colds.—N.B. “*i(li)Cholo* means any small thicket, which is the case with many *Helichrysums* or *Everlastings*.”
359. *iCibo* (general), *Dombeya cymosa* Harv., a useful tree of the bushveld, much used for making assegai handles.
360. *i(li)Cibolu* (1), according to Mogg, *Themeda Forschwalii*, a grass.
361. *i(li)Cicidwane*, the same as *iCukudwane*.
362. *Cikiciki* (1), according to Mogg 1512, *Epilobium hirsutum*.
363. *umCikimanzi* (S & X) *Conopharyngia ventricosa*. G. Don.
364. *i(li)Cikwe* (1), a Lily plant with a big bulb, growing in the bushveld.
365. *i(li)Cimamlilo* (Zululand), the same as *inCishamlilo*.
366. *isiCimamlilo* (1, Fingo), according to Watt the same as *inCishamlilo*.
367. *inCimbi* (1), according to Bryant a kind of meadow-grass having long stalks surmounted by a tuft of white spikes.
368. *umCimbizane* (1, NUF), *Orygia decumbens*, a Mesembrianthacea of the bushveld.
369. *inCinci* (1), according to Bews, *Bridelia micrantha* Baill. the proper name of which is *umHlahle* or *umHlalamagwaba*.
370. *inCinini* (2), rush used for making *izithebe*.
371. *i(li)Cishamlilo*, the same as *inCishamlilo*.
372. *inCishamlilo*, “the fire quencher” (General), *Pentanisia variabilis* Harv. var. *latifolia*. As its name indicates, it is used for the Turkish bath of the Zulus.
373. *isiCishamlilo*, the same as *inCishamlilo*.
374. *inCisili* (general), the flowers of the *isikhwa*-plant, *Tulbagia alliacea* L.F., very much appreciated as *imifino*, vegetable.
375. *ingCobangcoba* (2), according to Mogg, *Senecio latifolius* DC. and *Senecio isatideus* DC.

376. *umCobosela* (1, NIM), *Buddleia spec.*—
377. *inCobosi* (3, NND), a kind of rush used in making baskets. Cf. *inGcobosi*.
378. *(isi)Cocodwane* (2), according to Mogg 726 & 728 a reed, *Pycnus elegantulus* C. B. Cl.
379. *inCohiba* (1), according to Bryant an Asclepiadacea, used to poison dogs.
380. *inCola* the same as *inGcolo*, *Dioscorea Dregeana* Bak.
381. *inColozi* (NND), the same as *inGcolozi*.
382. *i(li)Cosho phezu kotho* is a herbalist's expression for *i(li)Khokhela*.
383. *inCotho*, the same as *iNcotho*, the Gifthall, *Buphane disticha* Herb.
384. *inCothoße* (1, NZ) *Aloe Boylei*.
385. *ubuCubele* (1), according to Mogg, *Scabiosa columbaria* L., a herb used for washing wounds.
386. *i(li)Cubula* (3), according to Mogg 701, 3875, 3890, *Themeda Forshalii* Hochst, *Andropogon ceresiaeformis* Nees. and *Themeda spec.*—different kind of closely related grasses.
387. *i(li)Cubula elimhlophe* (1), according to Mogg, *Tristachya leucothrix Trin.*, a common grass of the High and Low veld.
388. *i(li)Cucudwane* (1, NS), the same as *i(li)Cukudwane*.
389. *uCucuza* (general), *Bidens pilosa* and *bipinnata*, the Black Jacks.
390. *umCukuco* (1), a plant the root of which is said to be a powerful purgative.
391. *i(li)Cukudo*, a bulbous plant probably (2, NES) *Ammocharis falcata* Herb., used medicinally for cattle.
392. *i(li)Cukudu*, the same as *i(li)Cukudo*.
393. *i(li)Cukudwane* (general), *Scilla cicatricosa*, used as a soap, as enema for children and internally for cattle.—Substitutes are sometimes *Scilla natalensis* and *Scilla saturata* Bkr.
394. *i(li)Cuma*, the same as *i(li)Gcuma*.
395. *umCumane* (2), *Alberta magna* E M. a very ornamental forest tree to be found at an altitude from 3-5000 ft.
396. *umCuthung(w)a* (1), according to Bews, *Cryptocarya latifolia* Sond., a large tree of the Midland forests; the proper Zulu name being *umThungwa*.
397. *inCwadi* (general) the same as *iNcotho*,—*Buphane disticha* Herb.

398. *umCwasibe* (general), certain Leguminosae with edible roots, *Vigna triloba*, *Vigna capensis*, and *Vigna vexillata*.—
399. *isiCwe* (S & X), *Helichrysum pendunculare* DC., an Everlasting, applied as dressing after circumcision. Its substitute is sometimes *Helichrysum foetidum* Cass.
400. *i(li)Cwebekazane* (1, NZ), the same as *umCebekazane*.
401. *Cwembo* (1), according to Mogg 3964, a rush, *Fimbristylis spec.*
402. *iCwengcwengwe* (1), according to Mogg 3227, the same as *inCema*.
403. *u(lu)Cwiwi lwenyoni* (1), NZ, *Acidanthera platypetala* Baker, a greenish glass-like lily.
404. *umCwili* (1), according to Bryant, *Leonotis ovata*, the Klipdagga.
405. *i(li)Dabane* (very general), an abbreviation for *i(li)Dwangubane*.
406. *isiDabane* (4), wild banana, *Strelitzia augusta* Thb., whose leaves are laid at the bottom of corn-pits, and are used in making the *umncedo*.
407. *i(li)Dabane elikhulu* (1, NMA), a succulent *Coleus* of the bushveld.
408. *umDabeka* (1), according to Bews, a kind of *Erythroxylon*, trees of the Red wood family.
409. *umDabu*, *inyanga*'s word for *inTolwane*, *Elephantorrhiza burchellii* Bth., a dwarfy, only 1-2 ft. high *Mimosa* shrub, with huge multibranched, carrot-like, red roots. The latter are used as emetic for love-charm, chest and stomach complaints and as anti-dysenteric.
410. *inDabula-luvalo* (general), (1) according to Bryant a certain tree, whose bark is used for chest and heart complaints. (1, NZ) *Spermacece natalensis* Hochst. (1, NES) *Panicum maximum* Jacq. (1, NES) *Senecio bupleuroides* DC.
411. *uDabulisangci* (2, NES), a love charm medicine.
412. *umDakamfene* (2, NZ), certain forest-tree, having hard red wood, probably the same as *Mimusops caffra* E.M.
413. *i(li)Dakane* (1), according to Bryant, a certain bush-tree, growing along the coast.
414. *inDakane*, n. is the same as *u(lu)Dekane*.
415. *u(lu)Dakane* is the same as *u(lu)Dekane*.
416. *umDakane*, (general—), *Apodytes dimidiata* F.M., the white Pear, a forest-tree with hard wood used for felloes and its bark and leaves as purgative for young cattle.

417. *inDakla*, "from Dagga," the same as *inSangu*, *Cannabis sativa* L., the Indian Hemp.
418. *isiDakwa*, "The drunkard," (general), *Dioscorea dregeana* Bak. This forest climber (with trifoliate leaves) has huge bulbous roots of 1 ft. diameter, which are used to cure insanity. The person drinking two teaspoonsfuls of the fresh macerate becomes drunk. Hence the name. In time of famine they cut the roots in pieces, wash them for several days in running water till all the poison is out and then eat them.
419. *umDakwa*, n. is the same as *isiDakwa*.
420. *inDalu* (1), a more seldom form of *inDalu*.
421. *isiDala* (2), love charm emetic, according to Watt, *Dianthus crenatus* Thunbg.
422. *inDalu* (general in Natal), *Greya Sutherlandi* HK and Harr., the wild bottle brush tree. (1 S & X) *Chloristylis rhamnoides*.
423. *inDaluqwathi* (1), a plant whose root is used against fever.
424. *umDambi* (1), according to Bryant, a rush-like grass used for making eating-mats.
425. *i(li)Dambisa*, a more seldom form for *i(li)Dambiso*.
426. *i(li)Dambiso* (general), "The softener" because it is used for poulticing. The typical species of these wild vines for poulticing are *Cissus connivens* L. am. and *Cissus lanigera* Harr. They use also *Cissus orientalis*, *Commelina benghalensis* and *Senecio concolor* as substitutes.
427. *umDambiso* is the same as *i(li)Dambiso*.
428. *umDambuluka* (1, NO), a *Papilionate* herb.
429. *iDangabande* (1), according to Mogg the same as *i(li)Dwangubane*.
430. *i(li)Dangabane*, (general), the same as *i(li)Dwangubane*.
431. *i(li)Dangamane* (1), the same as *i(li)Dwangubane*.
432. *umDanghan* (1), according to Bews, *Gymnosporia albata* (N.E.B.) Sim., a shrub of the thornveld.
433. *i(li)Data*, *amaData* (general), the old Zulu potato, also called *i(li)Zambane*, after which the European potato was afterwards named. *Coleus spec.*—The tubers are rather small, but a delicacy amongst the Zulus.
434. *i(li)Date*, the same as *i(li)Data*.
435. *inDawo* (general in Zululand), *Moraea iridioides* L., the common white tulip of the bush. Root used at the first menstruation.

custom. In Natal (1) according to Bews *Cyperus esculentus* L. (1) according to Mogg 3572 *Mariscus sieberianus* Nees; (1) according to another record of Mogg *Mariscus congestus* Vahl., probably substitutes.—

436. *inDawocwatha* (3), the same as *inDawolucwatha*.
437. *inDawolucwatha* (general) *Acorus calamus* L., Kalmoes, Sweet sedge, used as charm etc., and sold by all herbalists. Introduced into the Cape by the Europeans.
438. *inDawoluthi emhlophe* (1), according to Bryant, *Sparaxis grandiflorens* used as antidote against an *umtakati's* concoctions.
439. *inDawoluthi emnyama* (1), according to Bryant *Belamcanda punctata* used as sedative against Hysteria.
440. *inDawo yehlathi* (3, NES), *Moraea spec.* (n?), bigger than *iridioides*. Root is used against dysentery.
441. *isiDawu* (1), *Encephalartos ghellinckii* Lehm.
442. *inDekane* (1), the same as *uDekane*.
443. *u(lu)Dekane*, "from *dakeka*, intoxicate, stupify the witch" (general) a little shrub of the bushveld, belonging to the Nettle family, *Pouzolzia hypoleuca*, an *intelezi* against *umthakathi*. Hence the name. Also used as fibre and for enema in feverish condition. Substitutes are *Cissus hypoleuca* Harv. and *Cissus hispidus*.
444. *u(lu)Dekeda* (1), according to Bryant, a small veld plant, having a raceme of blue flowers.
445. *inDelu* (1), according to Mogg, the same as *inDalu*.
446. *uDelunina* (general), an *Asclepiadecea* with grass shaped leaves and purplish flowerets. Root used as a love charm emetic.
447. *inDembu* (2), probably a *Viscum species*.
448. *inDenda* (1), the same as *isiDenda*.
449. *inDenda*, the same as *umDenda*.
450. *isiDenda* (general), the same as *Maesa refuscens* A.D.C. and *alnifolia* Harr., a multibranched shrub, seldom a little tree, of the Myrsine family. The white berries are eaten against worms.
451. *UmDenda*, the same as *umDenda*.
452. *umDenda* (2N6T) the same as *isiDenda*.
453. *umDendu* n 5, (general esp. NND, NO), some rock-splitting fig trees as *Ficus ingens* Miq. and *Ficus Sonderi* with sweet edible fruits. Its latex is used as substitute for Iodine. Where this

name is used for the fig trees, the very similar name *isiDenda* is not used for *Maesa*. The difference between *Denda* (NND) and *Denda* (Natal and Southern Zululand) not always being clear.

454. *umDenda obomvu* (1, NND) a name given to *Ficus ingens* Miq., as its foliage is very red in its early stages.
455. *umDenda omnyama* (1 NND), *Ficus Sonderi*.
456. *inDende*, the same as *umDenda*.
457. *isiDende* (general), the same as *isiDenda*.
458. *umDende*, the same as *umDenda*.
459. *umDende* (4), according to Mogg 7204 *Rumex sagittatus* Thb. Roots are used to relieve toothache.
460. *inDendela* (1), according to Weintroub, a plant with edible parts.
461. *inDibili encane* (3, NZ, NES), *Crassula spec.*, used as *intelezi* for sprinkling.
462. *inDibili enkulu* (general), *Portulacaria afra* Jacq., the Spekboom or Elephant's fodder.
463. *umDidi* (1), according to Bews, *Phylica spec.*, a tree of the Cat-thorn family.
464. *i(li)Didingolo* (1, NND) *Vernonia spec.*, used against stomachache.
465. *inDidwa* (1 NND), a *Scrophularacia* with white flowerets used for washing a sore eye.
466. *isiDikili* (general), all herbaceous or dwarf-woody species of *Lasiosiphon*, *Gnidia* and *Arthrosolen*, three closely related genera of the *Thymelaeaceae*. One, *Lasiosiphon Meisnerianus* Engl. is said to be an antidote against snakebite and a good enema (roots) in feverish condition.
467. *umDimadane* (1 NKA), *Royena sp.*, a straggler.
468. *i(li)Dimane* (3, NES), certain shrub, used for sticks, probably *Cassine kraussianum* Sim.
469. *inDindilili* (1, S & X), *Senecio angulatus*.
470. *umDindwa* (1 NND), probably *Trema bracteolata*.
471. *i(li)Dingamuzi*, wrong spelling or rare form for *i(li)Dungamuzi*.
472. *inDishindishi* (1, NES), a plant.
473. *isiDiya* (1), according to Mogg, a purple-flowered *Labiata*, used against quarter evil of cattle.
474. *umDiza wethafa* (1, S & X), *Sida longipes* E. Mey. The Fingoes use a paste of leaves to apply it to sores.

475. *uDlabose* (once), according to Mogg 3803, *Matricaria nigellifolia* D. C. Infusion of leaves in warm water used against cold.
476. *umDlambandlaze* (general), *Lachnopylis floribunda* Bth., used for fencing and smoking of the fields.
477. *isiDlambila* (2), plant eaten by the rock-rabbit.
478. *uDlampunzi* (general) n. (NPN), *Sapium reticulatum* Pax. Fruits used as a very good tanning material by the brothers of the Mariannhill. Recipe : 2 parts of Blackwattle, 1 part of *uDlampunzi*. The duikers like the fruit. Hence the name.
479. *umDlandlasi* (general), certain climbing plant, *Clematis*, all kinds of it. The better word for it is *umHlanhlathi*.
480. *umDlandlothi* (1), the same as *Albizzia fastigiata* of *umHlandlothi*.
481. *inDlandlovu* (1, W & S), according to Burtt Davy, *Pterocarpus rotundifolius* (Sond) Druce, and *Pterocarpus angolensis* DC. some of the best tropical timber, Rose-wood, African Teak.—Occurs only NS, NIN and north of it.
482. *uDlangotha* (1), a plant mentioned in the Social History of Mrs. Krige may be *umHlangothi*.
483. *umDlangwenya* (1), an emetic for chest trouble sold by herbalists.
484. *i(li)Dlaso* (1, S & X), *Pentanisia variabilis*.
485. *umDlavuza* (1), according to Bryant a plant used against dysentery.
486. *umDlebe* (general), *Synadenium arborescens* Boiss., the famous "umbulelo," a very poisonous shrub or a small tree of the Euphorbia family. "The crying tree," which is said to lure people near to kill them.
487. *i(li)Dlebedudu* (1), according to Bryant species of sweet-potato said to bear well but inclined to be stringy, cf. *u(lu)Tshuza* (2, NO) *Olea faveolata*.
488. *inDlebe-kathekwane*, "Hammerhead's ear" (general). Probably all species of *Plantago*, esp. *Plantago maior* L. and *Plantago lanceolata* L.
489. *inDlebe-kathekwane encane* (1), according to Mogg 6594 *Plantago lanceolata* L.
490. *inDlebe-kathekwane enkulu* (2, NND), *Plantago maior* L.
491. *i(li)Dlebelendlovu*, "Elephant's ear," "Groothblaar," (general), *Trimeria alnifolia* Planch., the wild Mulberry, and the more rare *Trimeria trinervis* Harv. 'There is in the forests a big tree Homa-

lium subsuperum and some shrubby *Rhynchosias* (*sigmoides* and *Woodii*) growing in swampy land which have all big leaves and are here and there (NES, NKA) called *i(li)Dlebelendlovu* as well.

492. *i(li)Dlebelenja* (1, NES), probably a *Helichrysum* used to cure wounds.
493. *inDlebeyempithi* (general), according to Watt and Mogg 6088, *Gerbera piloselloides* Cass.; used against ear-ache.
494. *inDlebeyemvu* (1 S & X), according to Schwaiger, *Helichrysum appendiculatum*.
495. *inDlebeyenkawu* (general), NUB, NS, NND). *Kalanchoe spec.*, Herbar 923, the monkey's ear used as *intelezi* and as a cure for ear-ache.
496. *inDlebeyephithi* (S & X), the same as *inDlebeyempithi*.
497. *umDletshana* (W & S), the same as *umDlebe*.
498. *umDleza* (1), according to Bews, *Tricalysia lanceolata* (Sond.) Schum., wild coffee. Cf. *umDlezi*.
499. *umDlezi* (1, S & X) *Pavetta lanceolata* Eck., Christmas tree.
500. *umDliwa-ngwenya* (1), certain tree, whose bark is used as an antidote against an *i(li)Dliso*.
501. *inDlolothi*, (general in Natal), *Moraea spathacea* Ker. and *Homeria pallida*, two yellow tulips, very poisonous for cattle to eat.
502. *uDlonzo* (Watt), the same as *umDlonzo*.
503. *umDlonzo* (general), *Mikania capensis* DC. (probably also *Mikania natalensis* DC.), said to be a remedy for horse-sickness, the leaves used as poultice and smelled for head-ache. (1) according to Watt also *Nidorella mespelifolia* DC.
504. *umDloti* (1) according to Bryant the Natal tobacco (on account of being largely grown in the *umDloti* district.)
505. *umDlovune* (1), according to Bryant's description, *Acacia xanthophloea* Benth, the big Acacia with the yellowish green, smooth bark growing in the fever districts of the Low veld. Therefore also called fever-tree.
506. *umDlovunga*, the same as *umDlovune*.
507. *umDlovunya*, the same as *umDlovune*.
508. *umDlovuthwa* (1), according to Bryant a certain tree, said to cause fatal *umkhuhlane* to anybody standing near it. Probably the same as *umDlebe*.

509. *inDlufu* (general), *Voandzeia subterranea* Thonars., cultivated everywhere by Natives, kind of underground nut.
510. *inDlufuyela* (1), according to Weintroub, a plant with edible parts.
511. *i(li)Dlula* (general), "The surpassing *intelezi yokuchela*," a plant growing in woods.
512. *isiDlulamanye* (1), perhaps *Gerrardina foliosa*.
513. *umDlulamazembe* (2), probably *Phyllanthus discoideus* Mull., the Egossa Red Pear, a fine timber.
514. *inDlulamithi* (2, NES) *Cussonia Kraussii*, Hochst., also sometimes wrongly applied to *Millettia sutherlandi* Harv. and *Olea laurifolia* Lam on the high gum trees.
515. *umDlumuthwa* (1, NKA), *Syzygium Gerrardi*, a big forest tree, the fruits of which are very much liked by the *isamungu* apes, which are often shot there.
516. *u(lu)Dlutshana* (general), *Aster hispidus* Baker, a Composite with lilac daisy flowers and roughly-surfaced leaves. Used for enema, etc.
517. *inDluxe* (1), the flowers of *Greya Sutherlandi* or *Isidwadwa*.
518. *Dluzo* (1), *Nuxia congesta*.
519. *umDobi* (1, NHL.), a tree.
520. *Dobo* (1. S & X), according to Mogg 1558, *Eragrostis plana* Nees.
521. *inDodemnyama* (4), according to Bryant, *Royena villosa* L., a straggling shrub in the dense bushes.
522. *inDododebindenye* (1, S & X), a medicinal plant.
523. *umDokwe* (1), a climbing plant whose roots are used as fibre.
524. *inDola* (general), *Triumfetta rhomboidea* Jacq. and more or less all other *Triumfetteas* if they are useful as "fibre" plants. Substitutes are *Chorchorus* of the same family of *Tiliaceae* and *Abutilon*, *Hibiscus* and *Pavonia* of the next family of *Malvaceae*. The flowers of these two families are very similar and all fade quickly away. This makes no difference to the Zulus as long as they are useful as "fibre."
525. *inDola encane* (1), *Triumfetta rhomboidea* Jacq.
526. *inDolo* (1), according to Bews, *Lasiosiphon anthylloides* Meisn.
527. *i(li)Dolocina* (1), according to Mogg, *Scabiosa columbaria* L.
528. *i(li)Dolofiya* (1, S & X), *Opuntia coccinellifera*.

529. *i(li)Dolo-lendodu* (2, NY) *Indigofera hedyantha* E. and Z. has a big root, often bent like a knee. Hence the name.
530. *i(li)Dololenkonyane* (general), according to Bryant a smaller Dock, *Rumex Ecklonianus* Meissn., whose roots are used against tape-worm. But this name is used more or less for quite a number of species of the two very closely related genera of *Rumex* (e.g. *crispus*) and *Polygonum* (e.g. *serrulatum* Lag., *tomentosum* Willd. and *lapathifolium* L. according to Mogg).
531. *amaDolwane* (2), a plant.
532. *inDolwane* (1, S & X), a medicinal plant used for purifying the blood.
533. *isiDomba* (1), according to Bryant, a species of unusually tall and fine-looking *imfe*, Native-cane.
534. *uDombola* (1), *Corchorus serraefolius* Burch.
535. *uDomeyana* (1, NUF), *Achyroopsis avicularis* Hook. f., sparrow's fodder.
536. *u(lu)Donca*—*lwabatwa* (1, Maria Zulu), probably the same as *u(lu)Donqabathwa*.
537. *i(li)Dondi*, the same as *isiDomba*, a very nice Native cane.
538. *isiDondwane* (1, NZ), *Portulacaria afra* Jacq. the Spekboom.
539. *umDondwane* (1, NES), *Randia rudis* E.M.
540. *i(li)Dongobane* (1, NZ), the same as *i(li)Dwangubane*.
541. *umDongole* (general), *Acacia—grandicornūta* Gerstner.
542. *uDongozi* (2), (1, NO) *Sida rhombifolia* L. used for enema; (1) according to Mogg 5765, *Hibiscus prb. cannabinus* L. used as strong binding cord.
543. *inDoni* (general), Black, edible berry of the *umDoni*-tree.
544. *umDoni* (general), *Syzygium cordatum* Hochst., the water-boom-tree.
545. *umDoni wehlathi* (2, NZ), *Syzygium Gerrardi* Harv.
546. *u(lu)Donqa* (general), *Sesamum Indicum* L., a cultivated oil plant.
547. *u(lu)Donqabathwa* (general), *Ceratotheca triloba* E.M., the sister-plant of *u(lu)Donqa* but not edible. A common weed in the fields.
548. *isiDonwana*, the same as *isiDonywana*.
549. *umDonwana*, the same as *isiDonywana*.
550. *inDonya* (1), herbalist's love charm emetic.
551. *umDonyane* (1, NES), is the same as *isiDonywana*.

552. *isiDonywana* (general NES), *Syzygium Gerrardi* (Harv.) Hochst., a tree of the dense forests.
553. *inDoya* (1), according to Mogg the same as *inDola*.
554. *uDoya* (2), the same as *i(li)Doyi*.
555. *uDoye* (1), according to Bryant, *Maesa alnifolia* and allied species.
556. *i(li)Doyi* (general), according to Bryant, medicine of any kind taken by the members of a family immediately after the death of one of their number and previous to taking any food in order to brace up. But as a specific name always applied to "*Asclepias albens*" Schtr. and similar species eaten by Natives.
557. *u(lu)Doyi oluncane* (1), according to Mogg 6215, *Xyris capensis* Thb.
558. *inDozwane* (1, NP), the same as *inTozwane* (i.e. all *Tymelaeaceae* which grow as big as a 3 ft. shrub or a tree).
559. *umDubu wehlanze* (general), is called *Combretum glomeruliflorum* growing in the bushveld.
560. *umDubu wehlathi* (general) *Combretum Kraussii* Hochst. growing in the Mistbelt forests.
561. *umDubu wommfula* (5), *Ficus capreaefolia* Dil., Sandpaper Fig-tree, growing along rivers near the North Coast.
562. *umDubadubane* (1, W & S), a shrub on the Transvaal border.
563. *u(lu)DuBu* (1), according to Bryant a kind of edible mushroom common near ant-heaps, cf. *i(li)Khowe*.
564. *umDuBu* (general), *Combretum glomeruliflorum*, *Combretum Kraussii* Hochst. (*Combretum transvaalense*, *Combretum salicifolium* E.M.) and *Ficus capreaefolia* Dil. The leaves of the latter are very rough on the surface and used as substitute of "Sandpaper" to clean the blade of the spear. As the leaves of the other ones (esp. *C. Kraussii*) are rather rough on the surface as well, I suppose the original meaning of *umDuBu* is "Sandpaper tree" for cleaning the blades of the spears.
565. *inDudumela* (1), according to Bryant a certain forest climbing plant.
566. *uDulamuthwu* (1) according to Bryant, *Vangueria lasiantha* Sond.
567. *inDuli* (1), according to Bryant, a grass or rush growing along rivers and used in making mats. (3) the same as *umDuli*.
568. *isiDuli* (2, S & X), *Brachylaena discolor* DC. (1) according to Watt, *Acacia spec.*

569. *isiDuli sehlati* (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger, *Eugenia Zeyheri*.
570. *umDuli* (general), *Vitex Rehmannii*, a tree of the bushveld.
571. *i(li)Dulumuthwa* (1) according to Bews a kind of *Vangueria* (probably *infausta* or *lasiantha*).
572. *inDulwane* (1 Sim, N & T), *Tricalysia capensis* (Meisn.) Sim.
573. *inDuma* (2), according to Mogg 3857, *Scirpus spec.*
574. *uDuma* (1, S & X), a medicinal plant.
575. *umDuma* (1), according to Bews, *umDumo*.
576. *uDumaphansi* (general), sold by all herbalists as a very powerful love charm emetic.
577. *inDumbahlozi* (1, NZ), a big forest tree, *Croton sylvaticus* Hochst; the bark is used for enema in feverish conditions.
578. *u(lu)Dumba* (general), certain climbing bean plant.
579. *umDumba* (general), a wild bean plant, the fruits of which are eaten by Natives.
580. *i(li)Dumbe* (general) *Colocasia antiquorum*,—belongs to the Arum-Lily-family and flowers in Northern Zululand during May. Used like potato.
581. *uDumbedumbe* (1) according to Bryant, a large species of the *iDumbe*, much used by the Natives now and much prized by them.
582. *i(li)Dumbilentaſa* (1), *Haemanthus natalensis* Pappe., the Little April fool.
583. *i(li)Dumbi-likaNhloyile* (general), *Haemanthus natalensis* Pappe and *Haemanthus coccineus* L., the Paint-brush-Lily. Boiled root used as emetic, but very poisonous. Some kinds of *Zantedeschia* (e.g. *aethiopica* Spreng and *hastata* (Hk. f) Eng.) are sometimes also called *i(li)Dumbi-likaNhloyile*.
584. *uDumbisi* (1), *Asparagus plumosus* Baker.
585. *uDumbukaye* (1), according to Watt, *Crassula vaginata* E and Z.
586. *umDumbula*, the same as *umDumbulu*.
587. *umDumbulu* (general), *Manihot utilissima*, the Manicé plant or root, cultivated here and there in the Low veld,—and used like potato.
588. *uDumesiswini* (1. NND), a little creeper reminding of a *Labiata*.
589. *umDumezulu* (1), a tree.
590. *Dumizulu* (1), according to Bews, *Pygeum africanum* Hk.f., the bitter Almond tree.

591. *umDumo* (general), *Ilex mitis* L., a nice forest tree bark used as emetic in feverish conditions.
592. *isiDumu* (1), according to Watt, the same as *umDumo*.
593. *isiDumuke* (1, NZ), *Desmonema caffra*, a climber.
594. *i(li)Dungamuzi*, "Kraal disturber," (general), *Euclea daphnoides* Hiern. It crackles, smells and smokes badly, if put into the hut fire. No wonder that the man runs out of the unventilated Zulu hut and the quarrel starts. Hence the name. Bark and leaves are used as strong purgative. Sometimes used for *Euclea natalensis* A.DC. and other *Eucleas* as well.
595. *iDungamuzi elinameva* (general), the same as *iDungamuzi lehlati*.
596. *iDungamuzi lehlanze* (3), *Euclea daphnoides*. The root is used to dye *ilala*-palm fibre.
597. *i(li)Dungamuzi lehlati* (general), all three kinds of *Scolopia* (*Zeyheri* (Arn.) Harv., *Mundii* Warb and *Eckloni* (Arn) Harv.), very nasty thorn-trees, therefore not liked as firewood. In the forests they develop into big trees.
598. *inDungulu* (general) *Kaempferia natalensis* Schtr and K. Schum., the Natal Ginger, *de Kempheren*, well known by the *inyangas*, as the strong-scented root is said to be good for catarrh and cold. Grows at Hlophenkulu near lower White Umfolosi.
599. *i(li)Dunjana* (2, NES), *Haemanthus Katharinae* Baker, used as emetic for love charm. A very poisonous plant.
600. *isiDunsa* (1, S & X), a medicinal plant.
601. *umDunwana* (2, NZ), *Syzygium Gerrardi*, (1) according to Bews, *Eugenia Zeyheri* Harv.
602. *umDunye* (1, NKA), *Strychnos Heningsii* Gilg.
603. *umDusi* (1, W & S), according to Burrt Davy, *Euphorbia Tirucalli* L.
604. *inDuye* (3, NZ), *Scirpus spec.*
605. *umDuze* (general), *Crinum longifolium* Thb., the white Natal Lily, *Crinum moorei* Hk. f., the Ngome or Inanda Lily, and *Crinum forbesianum* Herh. the Natal Lily with pink stripes. These huge Lilies grow in damp places. Used medicinally for cattle.
606. *umDuzi* (general), the same as *umDuze*.
607. *inDwa* (1, NES), *Apodolirion mackenii* Baker, a little lily.

608. *isiDwa* (general), *Gladiolus Ludwiggii* Pappe is the typical plant. The nut-like roots are placed by women in their seed-gourd for good luck, so as to get a good harvest. There are many others of the Iris-family, which have similar root bulbs and are therefore used as substitutes, e.g. *Hesperantha Baurii* Baker, *Watsonia densiflora* Baker, *Dierama pendula* Baker, *Tritonia spec.* and *Gladiolus spec.*
609. *.Dwaba* (2, NPN) *Uvaria caffra* E.M.
610. *isiDwaba somkhovu* (1), according to Watt, *Helichrysum leiopodium* DC.
611. *umDwabaza* (1), according to Weintraub, *Amaranthus Thunbergii* Moquin.
612. *isiDwadwa*, "The apron leaf," (general), *Greya Sutherlandii* Hk. f and Harv. the bottle bush tree. The red flowers, which appear before the leaves, are called *inDluze*. Also a shrubby Composite, with yellow flowers and broad cabbage-like leaves, *Lopholaena platyphylla* Bth.
613. *i(li)Dwakla* (2, S & X), according to Schwaiger, *Senecio latifolius* DC. var. *barbellatus*, and according to Steyn, *Senecio retrorsus*, a ragwort causing the Molteno disease.
614. *i(li)Dwaklane* (2), a Composite.
615. *i(li)Dwala* (1), according to Mogg 1517, *Eragrostis curvula* Nees.
616. *inDwana* (1), according to Mogg 6177, *Pycneus Mundtii* Nees.
617. *isiDwana* (1), according to Mogg 5751, *Aristea torulosa* Klatt.
618. *inDwandwazane* (2, NHL, Wome) *Celtis Kraussiana*.
619. *isiDwane*, the same as *isiDwana*.
620. *isiDwane esincane* (1), according to Mogg 6158, *Aristea anceps* Eckl.
621. *i(li)Dwangubane* (general, but we find more often the abbreviation *iliDabane*). Nearly all *Commelinaceae* go by this name. The typical one is *Commelina benghalensis* L., very much liked as fodder by pigs and even eaten by Natives in times of famine. Once I got this name for *Utricularia prehensilis*, probably on behalf of the likeness with some *Commelinaceae*.
622. *umDwedwe* the same as *umTwetwe*, *Acacia litacünensis*.
623. *uDwedwedwe* (2), a rush, larger than the *inCinini*.
624. *u(lu)Dwendwe lwengcuba* (general), herbalist's medicine to cure the heart. Probably *Rhus. Legati*.

625. *umDwendweni* (1, NP), *Gladiolus psittacinus* Hook.
626. *u(lu)Dwiya* (2, NPN) *Hippobromus alata* (E. & Z.).
627. *muDzidzi* (1, N & T), *Artabotrys monteiroae* Oliv.
628. *sEkowa* (1, W & S), according to Weintroub the same as *isiKhwa*.
629. *umEmbeza*, the same as *umMbeza*.
630. *umEmbezo*, the same as *umMbeza*.
631. *uβEndle* (general), a few species of Composites, with leaves underneath whitish, the underpart of which is used for making a fringe girdle for young heathen girls: *Gazania longicapsa* DC. *Gazania longifolia*, *Dicoma Zeyheri* Sond. etc. The flower of *Gazania longicapsa* and *longifolia* is called *isiPhephane*.
632. *isEngema* (1), certain tree whose bark is used for the *misa* (q.v.) of a chief.
633. *umEnke* (1) according to Bryant, Seed Potatoes.
634. *ulwEzi* (1, NZ), *Hebenstreitia dentata*.
635. *u(lu)Faba* (1), the same as *Acacia natalitia*. E.M.
636. *i(li)Famu* (2, NZ), certain forest-tree. *Trema bracteolata* Blume.
637. *umFana-ezacile*, (general), *Oldenlandia amatymbica* Kuntze, a love charm emetic.
638. *umFana-kaHlanjana*, (general), *Stylochiton natalense* Schott, a greenish flowering Arum Lily. Its berries are very much liked by partridges. The bulbs are eaten in famine time.
639. *umFana-kaNehlanjana* the same as *umFana-kaHlanjana*.
640. *umFana-kaNozihlanjana*, the same as *umFana-kaHlanjana*.
641. *umFana-kaSihlanjana*, the same as *umFana-kaHlanjana*.
642. *umFanozacile* (S & X), probably the same as *umFana-ezacile*.
643. *i(li)Fasela* (1) according to Bryant, a long-stalked velt-plant, with purplish flower.
644. *u(lu)Fasimbe* (1), a herbalist's medicine plant, used against hysteria.
645. *uFatemakati* (1, NES), the same as *Trema bracteolata* Blume.
646. *umFazi-othethayo* (2, NHL), a tree with medicinal qualities.
47. *imFe* (general), a sweet variety of the Native corn, *Andropogon sorghum*. Brot.
648. *isiFebe* (2, NMA), *Xanthicum spinosum* L.
649. *umFeca* (1), according to Bews, a kind of Digitaria-grass.

650. *isiFefethà* (1), the same as *Mucuna irritans*, Burt Davy, sp.n.
651. *uFenisi*, "i.e. fence," (general), *Caesalpinia sepiaria*, the Mauritius thorn.
652. *imFenyane* (general), Composite growing in "sandy watery places, (*i(li)Fenya* ") and used as *amakha* for perfuming body and dress.
653. *isiFesane* (1), "tumor," *Syzygium Gerrardi*, the fruits of which resemble a little tumor.
654. *i(li)Fese* (1 S & X), according to Mogg, a fern used as vermifuge.
655. *isiFetshane* (1, NMA), (*dimin.* of *isiFebe*) the same as *Xanthium spinosum* L.
656. *imFe-yenkala* "The crab's cane," (general), All three kinds of *Dissotis* of the *Melastoma* family. The big purple blue flowers are very conspicuous in marshy grounds. The juicy 2—3ft high stems are eaten in famine time or by herd boys.
657. *imFe-yenkalakala*. the same as *imFe-yenkala*.
658. *imFe-yenkawu* "The monkey's cane" (general), *Ansellia gigantea* Reichb, and *Ansellia humilis* Bull., two epiphytic orchids all over used as love charm emetic.
659. *imFe-yenkomo* (3, S & X), *Kiggelaria africana* L., the wild peach, a tree of closed forests.
660. *imFe-yesele* "the frog's cane" (general). The same as *imFe-yenkala*. It sometimes is also used for *u(lu)Gobo* or *Gunnera perpensa* and a kind of *Oxalis*, growing in marshy ground.
661. *imFeze* (1), according to Mogg, the same as *inKomankomane*.
662. *i(li)Fezela*, the same as *i(li)Fezele*.
663. *i(li)Fezele* (3), according to Mogg, a small rush, *Cyperacea*.
664. *isiFica*, the same as *isiFico*.
665. *isiFici*, the same as *isiFico*.
666. *isiFico* (general), name for one species of the closed forests, *Protorhus longifolia* and for a group of very near related species, i.e. *Heeria paniculosa*, etc., etc. The latter grows always in the open dry bushveld. These two genera, *Protorhus* and *Heeria* do not only belong to the same family of *Anacardiaceae*, but have one common use for the Natives. The blackish fruits are used as perfume and dye for the leather aprons *isiDwaba* of the heathen Zulu women. According to the habitat we distinguish between *isiFico sehlathi* and *isiFico sehlanze*.

667. *isiFico sehlanze*, (general), the same as *Heeria paniculosa* (EM) O. Ktz-etc.
668. *isiFico sehlati*. (general), *Protorthus longifolia* Engl.
669. *imFika*. (1), according to Mogg, *Hermannia spec.*
670. *isiFikane* (1, S & X), *Lasiospermum radiatum* Trer.
671. *umFikane* (1, S & X), according to Schwaiger, *Andropogon Sorghum* and *Andropogon shirensis* and *Andropogon appendiculatum* and *Andropogon eucomis* and *Andropogon ceresiaeformis*.
672. *umFilwa* (1, W & S), (cf. *umViyo*) the same as *Vangueria infausta* Burch.
673. *umFincafincane*. (2 S & X), according to Schwaiger, the same as *Leonotis leonurus* R. Br.
674. *imFingo* (general), any medicine used for the purpose of *ukufinga*, i.e. "to render harmless," though particularly the smallest of our Cycadaceae, *Stangeria paradoxa* Moore, used as *intelezi*. Baboons are fond of the seeds which are red and juicy if ripe. Also the name of a climbing fern.
675. *imFingwana*, the seed of the *imfingo*.
676. *UmFingwana*. (1), (diminutive of *imFingo*) the same as *Stangeria paradoxa*. Moore.
677. *umFiphazo* (1), a small plant whose flowers get very black when touched or withered; they are almost pure white at first. *Cycnium adonense* E.M.
678. *umFisane* (1), according to Bews, *Panicum isachne* Roth., a common ruderal grass.
679. *umFisi*. (1, S & X), according to Schwaiger, *Eriosema salignum* E.M.
680. *isiFithi* (3, NPN), *Baphia rucemosa*, a tree in river forests.
681. *umFithi* (2, NES), *Boscia albitrunca* Burch. The Shepherd's tree.
682. *umFiyo* (1), according to Bews, *Cluytia pulchella*, what the Zulus call all over *uNgwaleni*.
683. *imFobo* (1, S & X), the same as *uFobo*.
684. *uFobo* (1), according to Steyn the same as *Urginea macrocentra* Baker, the Poison bulb, Natal Slangkop; used as vermifuge; very poisonous to cattle.
685. *umFofu*, the same as *umFomfo*.
686. *imFohlafohlane* (1), *Jasminum multipartitum*. Hochst.

687. *i(li)Foliji* (general), " Forage," oats (Engl.)
688. *imFolozi* (1), according to Bryant, a small edible gourd, having a smooth or warted shell and introduced in recent times from Natal into Zululand.
689. *umFomamasi*, the same as *umMfomamasi*, a certain forest tree.
690. *umFomfo* (general), *Cephalanthus natalensis* Oliv., the Strawberry shrub, growing up country between rocks.
691. *umFongafonga*. (5, NES), *Macaranga capensis* Bth., a common tree in the hygrophilous coast bush ; also more or less identical with *umBongbonga*.
692. *umFongofongo*, the same as *umFongafonga*.
693. *umFongothe* (2), the same as *umFongothi*.
694. *umFongothi* (general), *Kigelia pinnata* DC., the sausage tree. The fruit is used as purgative.
695. *isiFuca*, the same as *isiFico*.
696. *isiFuce*, the same as *isiFico*.
697. *isiFuco*, the same as *isiFico*.
698. *umFuco*, the same as *isiFico sehlanze*.
699. *isiFufufu* (1), according to Bews, *Peddiea africana* Harv, the Sterkbaas, a fibrous shrub of all closed bushes ; usually called *inTozwane*.
700. *umFuko*, (1, N & T), according to Weintroub 92, a wild cucumber.
701. *isiFuku* (1, S & X), according to Watt, the same as *isiFico sehlanze*.
702. *uFukuzela* (1), (" Hair restorer,") according to Bryant, *Ocimum obovatum*.
703. *umFula*, (1, N. & T,) probably *Adina Galpini*, a large tree used for canoe-making.
704. *imFulwa* (general), *Adenia gummifera* Harv., a well known *intelezi* and emetic.
705. *isiFulwane*, probably the smaller kinds of *Adenias*, like *Adenia hastata* and *Adenia digitata* (Harv).
706. *Fumbatu*, (1), according to Mogg 3577, *Dicoma spec.* The burned leaves are used for vaccination.
707. *imFumbe* (1), according to Bryant, certain kind of edible mushroom of the knobheaded or unexpanding kind ; any kind of mushroom when young and with the pileus still ball-shaped.

708. *umFumfo* (1), according to Weintroub, the same as *umFomfo*, *Cephalanthus natalensis*.
709. *umFundeni* (3), Herbalists's antisyphilitic medicinal plant. Said to be the same as *i(li)Toza lehlathi*.
710. *imFungumfu* (1), the grass, weeds, etc., floating down on rivers, esp. when full.
711. *isiFunuku* (1), according to Bryant, certain parasitical plant.
712. *umFusamvu*, (general), *Pittosporum viridiflorum* Sims, whose bark and roots are used as emetic and enema for fevers.
713. *u(lu)Futhane* (1), according to Watt, the same as *Plectranthus laxiflorus* Benth., used as enema for fever and abdominal upsets.
714. *u(lu)Futhane lomhlanga* (1), *Mentha longifolia* Huds.
715. *imFuzane* (general), *Lasiosiphon Kraussii* Meisn., a poisonous plant also called *umSila wengwe*. An extract of the large bulbous root is used as a very strong enema for stomach complaints and for scrofula.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Die mit B. -ile gebildeten Perfektstämme in den Bantu-sprachen : by Paul Berger. Reprinted from the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Vol. XXVIII. Published by Dietrich Reimer / Andrews & Steiner, Berlin, and Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg, 1938.

This work was accepted as a doctoral dissertation in the Hansic University, Hamburg, and is a typical and worthy product of the Hamburg school of Bantu linguistics.

Its aim is to account phonologically for the varieties of those Bantu perfective verb-stems whose form is due to a perfective formative suffix other than *-a*, and to examine what connection, if any, exists between such stems. To this end, after a brief introductory part in which the problem is stated in outline, the author proceeds to an exhaustive account and examination of the formation of perfective stems in six Bantu languages (Herero, Ndali, Kikuyu, Yao, Konde and Safwa), and then gives us a comparative examination of similar formations in fourteen other Bantu languages (Old Swahili, Sotho, Zulu, Shambala, Chagga, Sango, Hehe, Buwe, Duala, Soli, Kongo, Mbundu, Lamba and Kwanyama). He comes to the primary conclusion that all the perfective suffixal formatives used in the languages can be traced back to B. *-ile*, and then proceeds to draw a number of secondary conclusions regarding the phonological changes which this latter suffix has respectively undergone and caused. Sometimes no change of any kind takes place, but frequently the changes are many and far-reaching. Every sound in the suffix itself is capable of mutation, and both the vowels and the final consonants of the stem-verbs may undergo change. All this is given in great detail in the body of the work, and summarized briefly at the end. The author has made full use of the available literature on his special topic, and has also incorporated his own material on Ndali, which he was the first to make known to Bantuists generally. The subject is of a highly abstract and theoretical nature, and its concrete and practical applications must in the nature of things be very restricted. But Dr. Berger's dissertation is a model of painstaking, thorough and exhaustive research, and no serious Bantuist can afford to remain ignorant of his work on this complex and interesting phonological phenomenon.

G.P.L.

Nominale klassen en prefixen in het Kiluba (Katanga): deur Servaas Peeraer en Amaat Burssens. Oordruk uit *Kongo-Overzee*, IV. 3, Juni 1938. *De Sikkel*, Antwerpen.

Hierdie artikel van die hand van Pater Peeraer, nagesien en t.o.v. al die Luba wat daarin verskyn foneties gekontroleer en van toontekens voorsien deur Prof. Burssens, is in hoofsaak 'n daarstelling van die vernaamste verskynsels wat ons i.v.m. die nominale klasse in daardie taal aantref—die trefwydte van die klasse, die vorme en semantiese funksies van die prefikse (met inbegrip van hulle verhouding tot mekaar t.o.v. enkelvouds—en meervoudsvorming, en van ander betekenisonderseidings al dan nie met dieselfde stam), die semantiese groepe en ondergroepe wat in die klasse aangetref word, ens. ens. Die fonetiese en tonetiese skryfwyse wat aangewend word sluit hom in hoofsaak aan by dié van die Internasionale Instituut vir Afrikaanse Tale en Kulture, wat op dié van die Internasionale Fonetiese Vereniging gebaseer is; en die rangskikking van die klasse t/m 14 volg die Meinhof-stelsel, hoewel Meinhof se 15 uitgeskakel en by sy 17 ingelyf word, en sy 16-18 gevolglik as 15-17 verskyn. Die artikel is grondig en volledig, en getuig en van fyn praktiese gevoel vir die wese van die Bantoetale en van geskoolde kennis van die teoretiese grondslae van die moderne Bantoeïstiek.

Waar die spesiale veld van hierdie tydskrif en van die resensent die Suid-Afrikaanse Bantoetale is, mag ons tenslotte net kortweg wys op enige in die oog lopende verskille tussen hierdie tale en Luba.

S.-A. Bantoetale

Luba

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) Prefikse het basale middeltoon. | Prefikse het basale hoogtoon. |
| (2) Baie prefikse is foneties veranderlik. | Net prefikse van kll. 9 en 10 foneties veranderlik. |
| (3) Kll. 12 en 13 kom nie voor nie, behalwe in Shona. | Kll. 12 en 13 kom gereeld voor. |
| (4) Lokatiefklasse sporadies. | Lokatiefklasse gereeld. |
| (5) Verdubbeling van prefikse seldsaam. | Verdubbeling van prefikse kom dikwels voor. Selfs drie prefikse kan tegelyk voorkom. |

G.P.L.

Gouwzang der Bene-Lupulu: deur S. Peeraer. Uittreksel uit *Congo*, Maart/April 1938. Goemaere, Brussel.

Die *lulumbi* of *streeklied*—so wil ons Pater Peeraer se Vlaamse term *gouwzang* in Afrikaans oordra—is 'n liedersoort wat by die Luba veel-

vuldig voorkom, en waarin 'n bepaalde landstreek—oënskynlik betreklik klein van uitgestrektheid—in al sy hoedanighede besing word : sy ligging en geografiese eienskappe, sy plantegroei en dierebevolking, sy geskiedenis, sy hewoners van voorheen en tans met hulle werksaamhede en verhoudinge tot mekaar ; kortom, 'n soort ensiklopediese land—en volkekundige beskrywing van so 'n streek, in digmaat en op musiek, wat, in die woorde van die skrywer van die artikel, „ voor den Muluba (is) wat voor ons de archieven van den Burgerlijken Stand zijn, . . . zijn kadaster, zijn aardrijkskunde, zijn landkaart, zijn handboek voor jacht, vischvangst en landbouw, zijn wegenkaart.” Elke dorp of streek het so 'n lied, wat uit verskillende onderdele bestaan : en derglike liedere word dan ook by allerlei geleenthede gesing, en kry vir die Luba 'n diepwortelende sosiale betekenis. As kind hoor hy sy moeder gedeeltes daaruit neurie, en wanneer hy na sy laaste rusplek gebring word word die lied oor hom gesing.

In sy artikel nou behandel Pater Peeraer één van hierdie liedere van die Bene-Lupulu, 'n Luba-volkie, uitvoerig. Ons kry die Luba-tekse daarvan, met 'n eksegetiese vertaling, en baie volledige aantekening oor elke strofe, elke reel, amper elke woord. Oor die juistheid van die teks, vertaling of verklarings kan die resensent nie oordeel nie, maar daarvoor staan Pater Peeraer se naam as fyn kenner van die Luba en hul taal reeds in. Die artikel dwing egter ook bewondering en respek af vir sy metodiese deeglikheid en volledigheid. Waar ons in Suid-Afrika in die s.g. prysgedigte (Nguni *izibongo*, Sotho *lithoko.*, *dirêô*, *mabôkô*) iets het wat in verskeie opsigte baie op die streekliedere van die Luba lyk, en waar ons reeds 'n groot aantal van derglike gedigte in hulle oertekse beskikbaar het, is nog veel te min van hulle vertaal, en helaas nog veel minder van hulle eksegeties verklaar. Ons kan hier gerus die voorbeeld van die Belgiese Bantoeïs volg.

G.P.L.

Pioneers in Pondoland, by Rev. Godfrey Callaway, Lovedale Press, 199 pp. map and illus. 5/-.

This is one of the finest little publications which I have read for a long time. Father Callaway writes with a charm, simplicity and directness which keep the reader's attention from beginning to end. He touches on the romance of the early days of Pondoland astride the Umzimvubu, “ the Home of the Hippo,” from the days of da Gama to the annexation. He lightly sketches the homelife of the people and their character. And then he deals with Missionary pioneering efforts, his attention being particularly focussed upon the work of his own denomi-

nation with such outstanding figures as Henry Callaway, Bransby Lewis Key and his own brother Robert, who was killed in the Great War.

With consummate tact Father Callaway deals with the historical events leading up to the annexation, and with the race-contact problems which have arisen and are of such concern to-day. His whole-hearted sympathy for the yearnings and rightful aspirations of the Native people for education and opportunity is most manifest, but his concern for the difficulties of the Government, both financial and in requiring the goodwill of the people, is equally sympathetically expressed. The whole book breathes the real Christian spirit, and should go a long way towards bettering inter-racial feeling in South Africa. This book is to be most warmly commended to all interested in South Africa and her racial and missionary problems.

The publishers have put no date to this book, a detail which should not have been overlooked.

C.M.D.

English Composition for Bantu Students, Parts 1—3, by Alban Winter, Longmans Green & Company. 10d. each part.

Three little books intended for Bantu scholars who have been learning English for some years. All the subject matter, words and pictures are such as should be understood by Bantu Intermediate and High School pupils and some of the most common difficulties of Bantu pupils in writing English are especially treated. Teachers will find many chapters helpful and suggestive, but the booklets do not deal in any ordered way with the main difficulties which an African pupil finds in passing from his mother tongue to English.

E.J.

Native Standards of Living and African Culture Change by Margaret Read. pp. 56, 1/-.

Both the *Journal of the African Society* and *Africa*, the quarterly journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, publish from time to time memoranda on special topics which are distributed to their members and afterwards sold separately. This is a very useful practice since it permits the publication of material which goes beyond the length of an ordinary article and can be more widely distributed. The present pamphlet is a case in point. In it Dr. Margaret Read discusses an important and topical question—viz. : how are we to estimate the standards of living of a Native population for the purposes of a social

or nutritional survey? Though she deals specifically with Nyasaland problems of which she has first-hand experience, the questions she raises are of far wider implication. Both in Colonial territories of the type of Nyasaland, and also in the Native areas of the Union those planning social surveys for practical purposes are faced with many of the same problems. In brief how is it possible to measure the standard of prosperity of people who are living neither under a purely primitive nor a so-called civilised system of economy, but rather, as Dr. Read puts it "a primitive economy with a measure of Europeanisation and some elements of a money economy?" The ordinary methods of budgetary comparisons are obviously inadequate except in the study of urban Native populations. Some system of assessing the welfare of people who produce and consume their own food and only resort to money for special purposes has got to be devised. Dr. Read discusses experiments tried under similar conditions in India and shows how the standards of living were assessed by tabulating in the case of each family the money spent, the food eaten, and the goods, such as household equipment, that evince the group's prosperity. Those planning social surveys, and, in particular, nutritional studies among Bantu peoples in the Union, will find much to interest them in this clear discussion of practical issues.

Another question with which Dr. Read deals is the method by which increased production, usually a preliminary to raising the standard of living of the Natives in any area, can be secured. Here she points out, we are up against Native peoples' traditional customs, activities and values, and hence very often they resist changes either in their methods of production or in their diet. "The problem of raising the standard of living is not a matter of simple arithmetic. It is not a question of adding tea, coffee, sugar, and wheat to the present dietary by mathematical calculation of the necessary production." We are dealing rather with human effort and choice, and the different types of social organisation which either facilitate or impede increased production and distribution of goods. Hence, Dr. Read concludes, the importance of co-operation between the anthropologist and those administrators or economists who are engaged in framing practical schemes for the increase of Native production and consumption. The author illustrates her thesis by material collected during two field trips to Nyasaland. She describes the old economic organisation of the Ngoni with its association between rank and wealth, its social structure based on the possession of cattle, and the various economic incentives that determined production. She discusses the effect of modern changes on traditional agricultural and pastoral activities and systems of food distribution and describes some of

the results of absentee labour and the changed incidence of political authority in Nyasaland. Dr. Read is at present engaged on a joint field study with a nutritional expert and a medical officer, of two different Bantu tribes in that area and her stress on the importance of the sociological aspects underlying the problems of primitive diet and standards of living is therefore based on practical experience. The memorandum should prove suggestive to agricultural and medical officers in all the African services.

A.I.R.

Joni Murimi, Rugwaro rweZokurima, Chishawasha Mission, Salisbury. 77 pp. 1938, 1/-.

This is a very useful school text-book on Agriculture in the Zezuru dialect of Shona, prepared by the Jesuit Fathers of Chishawasha Mission and printed very creditably on the Mission Press in the new Shona orthography. Not only is this a valuable addition to the growing number of books in the new orthography, but in itself is a valuable contribution to vocational literature in Shona, and should prove of great practical use in the education of the Native peasantry. It is to be hoped that when the next edition is called for, a serious attempt will be made to select vocabulary which will give this text-book a wider circulation over Shona-speaking areas. This could be done by sending copies to Karanga and Manyika areas for comments on difficulties in the language for those areas, and publishing as has been done with some Manyika readers, adding vocabularies of variants.

C.M.D.

Iintsomi, Bantu Folk Stories, by R. M. Agar-O'Connell (The Lovedale Press, 48 pp. large quarto, illus. 2/-).

This is a delightfully produced publication of Xhosa tales in Xhosa and English attractively illustrated by G. M. Pemba and others. It should make a useful Xmas present.

C.M.D.

Source Book for African Anthropology, by Wilfred D. Hambly, edited by P. S. Martin. 2 vols. Field Museum of Natural History. Anthropological Series. Vol. xxvi.

Dr. Hambly's aim in compiling this *Source Book for African Anthropology* is, in his own words, to provide "a groundwork of geography, biology, history, and general ethnology" for the student of "some

specific and intricate African problem,"—to give the reader that is to say some conception of "Africa as a whole" and all the different environmental, historical and social factors affecting human development. To this end he covers a very wide field, including sections on physiography, history, prehistory, physical anthropology, languages and literature, general ethnographic features, and contacts between Europeans, whether as explorers or as administrators, and different African peoples.

The general plan of each section is to give an account of the methods pursued by each of the different specialist sciences dealing with the environment and peoples of Africa, summaries of the work already achieved in each field, suggestions as to the tasks remaining to be carried out; and short reading lists for elementary students. There are a number of excellent photographs, if rather arbitrarily selected as regards physical types, and maps showing the climatic features, vegetation, language distribution etc. of Africa. It can be seen therefore that the book is likely to be of very great use. The general student gets a broad vision of the setting of the African peoples while bibliographies enable him to pursue his studies further, and the specialist in any one branch will certainly welcome these short accounts of the progress made in kindred fields.

The editor anticipates that each specialist will utter "loud protests" at the treatment of his own subject while presumably viewing with greater tolerance the condensation of the material in other fields of which he knows less! This is unavoidable in a book of this kind, but at the same time a reviewer is obliged to concentrate on the section of a source-book with which he is most competent to deal at the risk of seeming ungrateful for the whole compilation. Therefore I shall deal with the ethnographic sections of this book alone. Here it must be admitted that when the author passes outside the scope of a source book and tries to give the student introductory accounts of certain principle of social grouping, "social structure," kinship, etc., or to apply the culture area concept to the classification of the African peoples he is not only treading on dangerous ground, but attempting something which seems to me, at any rate, quite impracticable within the limits of a book of this kind. To classify the different African peoples Dr. Hambly refers to the work of De Preville and Herskovits, on which he seems ultimately to base his culture area maps, and he mentions in a few lines the "ethos" or "culture pattern" idea as being valuable as a basis for comparative work. In fact however his section on "culture areas" is limited to descriptions of one or two African peoples to be taken as representative of the major economic pursuits found in the continent. Thus he gives an account of Bushmen

and Pygmy cultures as typical hunting peoples, and selects the Banyoro, Suk, Masai, Nuer, etc., as typical pastoral peoples. Other cattle-keeping tribes he groups for some unexplained reason as "modified pastoral peoples" and these include the Ila, Venda, Ovimbundu, Fulani and some Abyssinian peoples. Camel keepers form the next division and Hambly gives a fuller account of the Tibu and Tuareg cultures and then passes on to the Arab peoples of the North. Such descriptions of "typical" economic activities are certainly useful to the student but they do not give a basis for the mapping of culture areas, and the selection of one or two pastoral tribes in a continent like Africa gives no conception of the variety of cultural features included under the term "cattle complex."

In his second ethnographical section the author attempts to describe the "unity of Negro peoples" and to select the "social, religious, and economic traits that can fairly be called fundamental to Negro culture." He does so by means of sections on sexual life, social organization, social controls and conflicts, religion, economics, etc., in which he gives certain descriptive accounts of the main theoretical problems and selects one or two tribes, chiefly the Ovimbundu of which he has first-hand material, as examples. Here it may be said at once that some of the conclusions reached are actually misleading. To attempt to find cultural unity in an ethnic group which includes the West African Negro, the Sudanic peoples and all those tribes classed as Bantu from Uganda down to the Cape is, to my mind, to court failure, and a description, say of the law of adultery among African peoples, in one and a half pages, or their beliefs regarding ancestor worship in a short section can hardly be of value to the student. It is therefore to be regretted that the author did not limit himself to his first objective of providing the general background for ethnographic studies, and summarising the methods and achievements of each specialist worker in the field.

The bibliography, which fills at least one half of the second volume of the book, is comprehensive, rather than exhaustive. It should prove very useful to the general student.

A.I.R.

[illegible]

PRINTED IN U.S.A.